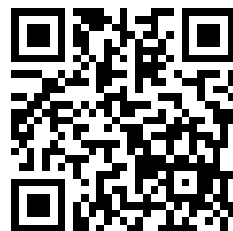


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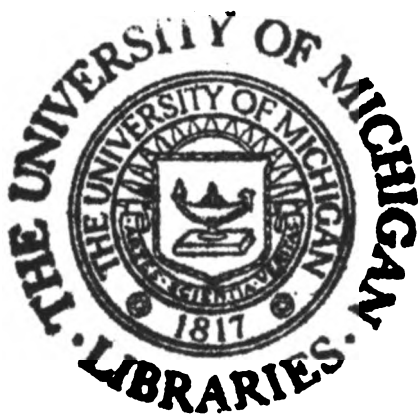
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# SOME SACRIFICES IN CHOU CHINA

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

In a work: "Legends and Cults in Ancient China" (BMFEA 18, 1946, pp. 199-356) I endeavoured to throw new light on a large group of religious beliefs and cults in the pre-Han era, notably during the Chou dynasty. The researches undertaken for that work were based on a strictly applied method of sorting and evaluating the sources. Besides the self-evident distinction between chronologically different sources—texts safely attested to have been composed in Chou time and those written in Han, Liu-ch'ao and T'ang' time—another and equally important distinction was made and strictly observed: the difference between "free texts" and "systematizing texts". A quotation will show the purport of this distinction (Legends p. 201): "On the one hand, there were sources like Shu king and Shī king, Tso chuan and Kuo yü and Chan kuo ts'ê, Lun yü and Mencius, Mo-tsī and Chuang-tsī, Li sao and T'ien wen—they are what I shall call free texts of the pre-Han era. Their accounts of ancient men, happenings and cults are given *en passant*, either as occasional records of events or inserted in speeches of politicians and philosophers, who refer to current traditions in elucidating some moral or political theme. Of an entirely different character are those writings which I shall call systematizing texts. They are the products of scholars who deliberately tried to lay down laws or make a consistent whole of the ancient traditions and ritual ideas. Their goal was to work up and compile a diffuse and heterogeneous material, to create a system. To this class belong, in the first place, works such as the major part of the Li ki and the whole of Yi li and Chou li. Their scope is something other than simply to record ancient traditions and customs. They represent the endeavours of the Confucian school to determine what the beliefs and rites should properly be, according to the philosophy and principles of the *Ju* scholars. It is obvious that certain speeches in Tso chuan and Kuo yü have something of this doctrinary flavour, but there is the fundamental difference that their disquisitions are made *ad occasionem*, referring to a certain tradition or cult in order to guide the conduct of a prince in a special case, they do not form a comprehensive doctrine for the entire field of ritual life. A doctrine laid down in the Li ki or the Chou li<sup>1)</sup> cannot give us such an insight into the real living traditions and rites as a speech in the Kuo yü,

<sup>1)</sup> Legends p. 202: "Nobody could seriously believe that the Chou li accurately describes the system of officials in Royal Chou. Its character of a reconstruction of how it ought to be is quite obvious. On the other hand, there cannot be the slightest doubt that it is a pre-Han text. This follows from a comparison of the system of officials which it lays down and that revealed by the free texts . . . The discrepancies are so great that no Han-time forger would have dared to deviate so widely from the sacred classics". Moreover, the language in the Chou li is often so archaic, so rich in *hapax legomena* and in obscure words and phrases entirely foreign to the Han-time language that it is inconceivable that a Han scholar could have achieved such a forgery. The Chou li was a product of the 3rd or possibly the 4th c. B.C.

because the rites it describes have been laid on the Procrustean bed of the systematizing Confucian scholars; it may have been—and can often be proved to have been—tampered with and trimmed so as to fit into the ritual system which the Confucian school thought was the proper one.—The chapters in Sī-ma Ts'ien's *Shī ki* which treat of the pre-Han times are of quite the same systematizing character. He has based himself, as an historian, on various earlier documents and consciously tried to reconcile them, to select such facts as do not contradict one another and leave out the rest or modify them so as to make them consistent with the rest.—Of the same kind were the *Shu sū* (Preface to the *Shu king*) and the *Shī pen*.—If these systematizing texts of the *Ju*-school doctrinaries and of the early historians already represent a deliberate compilation of the raw material of the ancient traditions and customs, this is still more the case with the commentators of Eastern Han, Liu-ch'ao and T'ang times. They lived at a time when not only all first-hand knowledge of the raw materials was entirely lost, but when the secondary and tertiary etc. knowledge, passed on through a long series of teachers and pupils, was also to a large extent lost or badly distorted."

Indeed, the ancestral temples of the feudal lords were no longer the ritual and cultural centres, and the traditions and cults of the feudal states were no longer a living reality but a memory, often confused and corrupted. The cults of their own time were a conglomeration full of innovations, many of them newly instituted by Imperial order. The good old Cheng Hūan (d. A.D. 200), the great authority in all later times on the classics, particularly the Odes and the Rituals, can be proved in hundreds of cases to have misunderstood and distorted the data handed down from pre-Han times and added fanciful guesses of his own (see my Glosses on the *Shī* and the *Shu* in BMFEA 14, 16–18, 20, 21 and my "Loan Characters in pre-Han Texts" *ibid.* 35–39, *passim*). The same is true of most in the galaxy of Eastern Han and Liu ch'ao commentators. The comments of the great scholiasts, Cheng Chung, Fu K'ien, Hū Shen, Kia K'uei, Ma Jung, Kao Yu, Wei Chao, Tu Yü, Ho Hiu, Chao K'i and many others are so full of discrepancies and contradictions that they simply cannot be considered as "sources" for the knowledge of pre-Han China.

In the above-mentioned work *Legends and Cults* I studied in detail 16 cycles of Chou-time legends and cults and demonstrated, for each of them and step by step, how the Eastern Han and later systematizers have maltreated these cycles and embellished them with ever more full "facts" and details entirely unknown in pre-Han sources.

It is important, however, to keep in mind that there is, after all, a difference between, on the one hand, the systematizing texts composed in pre-Han times (some of them possibly penned in their present form in early Han time) and, on the other hand, the writings of systematizing scholiasts of the Eastern Han and Liu ch'ao times. The former may, at least, have witnessed some of the cults they fitted into their "system", cults that still lingered on in the 3rd c. B.C. before the cataclysm of 221–211. They are therefore worth taking into some account in our

researches, though with reservations, whereas the latter constitute an exceedingly doubtful and risky "material". In the present investigation, therefore, we shall try to elucidate some religious Chou-time phenomena by aid of free texts, demonstrating at the same time to some extent what the early systematizers have tried to achieve on the subject. The Eastern Han and later commentators will only occasionally be adduced.

It may be objected that this is to go too far. The Eastern Han scholars may have had access to Chou sources now lost, and some of the information they vouchsafe, not verifiable in the pre-Han texts we now possess, might be quite valuable. That this is not so to any worth-while extent can be illustrated by an interesting example. The pre-Han texts record, in one place or another, scores and scores of primeval "rulers" and other legendary heroes. The great scholar and historian Pan Ku has in Han shu: Ku kin jen piao tried to systematize all the "rulers" and heroes in the early texts he knew, and he arranges them first in a principal column of 9 "rulers" and then 9 sub-columns under these, two of which contain 23 heroes—together 32 personages. 31 out of these 32 great primeval men are names that occur in the pre-Han texts we now possess. In the remaining 7 sub-columns he gives more than 100 such heroes and they all occur in earlier texts which we now have, either pre-Han or Shī ki, Lie-tsī, Huai-nan-tsī (for details see Legends p. 230–231). This is important for (in spite of Liu Hiang's famous bibliographical list) it shows that Pan Ku had no access at all to any pre-Han sources beyond those which we possess today. It is a serious reminder that we should not sanguinely believe that various data about the earliest eras which crop up in the literature of Eastern Han and later periods are based on pre-Han works now lost: the Han scholars possessed no more pre-Han literature than we possess today, with a few exceptions. The "traditions" recorded in those late eras are so many speculations of scholars or elements of late Han and Liu-ch'ao lore, uncritically given as true archaic traditions.

The majority of the cycles studied in "Legends" were connected with the well-known ancestral cult. The most interesting feature in this religious system is the fact that the cult was not limited to sacrifices to father and grandfather and a few back generations. In the ruling houses and the noble families one always traced the origin of the house back and sacrificed to a legendary "ruler" or hero who founded the clan by establishing, for himself and his descendants, a certain *té* 'virtue', divine power, imperishable prestige.

There was, moreover, a considerable consistency in the pedigree traditions of the numerous clans of Chou-time China. However complicated the noble houses were, with a wealth of branches and sub-branches, their genealogies were kept strictly clear and there were no contradictions between those of the various clans; they all fitted in in their proper places in a large and generally accepted and well-known system. A single example:

The free texts, of the most varying kinds, reveal a consistent system of traditions about the line of some particularly important primeval rulers: 1. Fu Hi 2-

Shen Nung 3. Yen Ti 4. Huang Ti 5. Shao Hao 6. Chuan Hū 7. K'u 8. Yao 9. Shun 10. Yü (for full details see Legends pp. 206–213). There are various texts that give an enumeration of them, sometimes complete, sometimes giving only the most prominent of the series:

Yi: Hi ts'i and Chan kuo ts'ê: 1, 2, 4, 8, 9.

Kuan-tsī: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Lü shī ch'un ts'iu: 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Kuo yü: 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Chuang-tsī: 1, 2, 4.

The important fact here is that the sequence is quite consistent; nowhere is there a text where a 7. comes before a 5. or a 6., though the texts are heterogeneous, belonging to various centuries and schools. The consistency is due to a strong and well-established system of cults common to all the noble houses and maintained all down to middle and late Chou. The most varying authors, who were familiar with these cults, could therefore refer to one and the same system of first-class legendary "rulers". The doctrines about them were *commune bonum* of all the educated nobles in the Chou era.

Let us verify this fact by a few examples.

1. Huang ti. In pre-Chou time both a great house descendant from Yü (the Hia dynasty) devoted the great Ti sacrifice to Huang-ti (Legends p. 214). The first Chou king enfeoffed the descendants of Huang Ti in Ki or in Chu (L. p. 216). No less than 12 clans descendant from sons of Huang Ti had feudal houses in the Chou era (L. p. 278). One of them, the clan Jen, was important since a Jen lady was the mother of Wen Wang of Chou. Other clans out of the 12 were in Chou time princes of the state Sie (L. p. 278).

2. Shao Hao. Through a descendant, Mei, Shao Hao was the first ancestor of the houses of Shen, Si, Ju and Huang in Chou time (L. p. 243). The house of T'an likewise sacrificed to Shao Hao as first ancestor (L. p. 286). Shao Hao's younger brother Ch'ung was one of the ancestors of the princes of Ch'u (clan Mi) (L. p. 217). Furthermore a grandee of Ch'eng called Po Hiu-fu (middle Chou time) sacrificed to Ch'ung as his ancestor (L. p. 236).

3. Chuan Hū. In pre-Chou time both the Shun house and the Yü house (Hia dynasty) offered the Tsu sacrifice to Chuan Hū. (L. p. 214). Chuan Hū through his son Li was the ancestor of eight clans, and in Chou time one of them, the clan Mi, was particularly important (lords of the states Ch'u, K'uei, Yüe) (L. p. 237).

4. K'u. Both the Shang-Yin house (dynasty, clan Tsī) and the Chou house (clan Ki) offered the Ti sacrifice to K'u (L. p. 214). He was namely the formal father on the one hand of Sie (L. p. 216), ancestor of the Shang-Yin, and on the other hand of K'i, *alias* Hou Tsi, ancestor of the Chou house. The Shang-Yin brought



the *Kiao* sacrifice to Ming, a descendant of Sie; in Chou time the house was enfeoffed in Sung and then altered the *Ti* sacrifice from K'u to the last Shang-Yin king Yi Ti (L. p. 338). The Chou house offered the *Kiao* sacrifice to the said K'i (L. p. 214). There were various feudal houses of the same clan as the Royal Chou, and they kept up the same ancestral cult.

5. Yao. In pre-Chou time the Shun house offered the *Kiao* sacrifice to Yao. The first Chou king enfeoffed his descendants in Li (L. p. 216). The prince of Tsin confirmed the fief Li. A powerful grandee house Fan in Tsin sacrificed to Yao as their ancestor (L. p. 293).

6. Shun. The descendants at first had their fief in Suei, but from the first Chou king they were enfeoffed in the state Ch'en and were given the clan name Kuei.

7. Yü. The Yü house (Hia dynasty) offered the *Kiao* sacrifice to Yü's father Kun (L. p. 214). Under Chou the descendants were enfeoffed in the states K'i and Tseng (clan Sī) (L. p. 307). A dignitary in the state Tsin by name Tung Po was officiant in a Hia sacrifice and he was evidently a descendant of Yü.

8. T'ai Hao. Another primeval monarch who was a clan founder was T'ai Hao (a ruler difficult to place in the system of early potentates from lack of documentation). There were in Chou time four states the ruling houses of which (clan Feng) sacrificed to him as their highest ancestor (L. p. 218).

9. Other primeval heroes, not rulers but nonetheless famous, were likewise clan founders. One instance is the great judge Kao Yao, who was sacrificed to as founder by the ruling houses in the small states Liu and Liao, destroyed in 622 B.C. (L. p. 257).

These examples may suffice. It is important to find that even in Chou time there were feudal houses who kept up the sacrifices to these primeval great men as their direct ancestors; it was surely to a large extent by the aid of their genealogical trees that the traditions about the early rulers were kept alive and currently known.

The cult of the Spirits of the ancestors was one of the two main streams in the religion of the Chou-time (and earlier) Chinese. The other one was the cult of nature Spirits (gods). Inevitably these two groups of cults sometimes intermingled and coalesced; some such phenomena were described in "Legends" (pp. 220, 222, 235, 239, 241, 243). But this, after all, happened only to a modest extent. The sacrifices and other rites addressed to the nature Spirits was a large group of cults of its own in the religion of the Chou and the present paper purports to investigate them following the principles defined above.

# I

The highest potentate in the Chou-time pantheon was Heaven, the cult of this deity being attested *passim* in the free texts. There is, however, a complication in that he is called by several denominations.

1. T'ien 'Heaven'. That T'ien was not merely a natural force, a power of nature, but a personal deity is clear from various passages. Shu: Kao Tsung jung jī: "T'ien inspects (*kien* looks upon) the people below", Lun: Hien wen: "The one who knows me is T'ien Heaven". Mo: Shang hien, chung: "They served T'ien, and T'ien (enjoyed:) was pleased with their virtue". Chuang: Chī pei yu: "T'ien knew how mean and arrogant I was". Mo: T'ien chī, shang: "Therefore T'ien thought and said: all those whom I love, they also love". Yi Chou Shu: Shang shī: "Hou Tsi thought of T'ien's words": Tso: Siang 23: "If I die, I will accuse you before T'ien". Tso: Süan 15: "T'ien has taken from him his soul". Tso: Ch'eng 5: "Ying dreamt that a T'ien shī messenger from T'ien said to him".

2. Shang T'ien 'High Heaven'. Shī: Wen Wang: "The actions of Shang T'ien". Sün: Li lun: "The *Kiao* sacrifice, that imports that one adjoins the hundred kings to Shang T'ien and sacrifices to them".

3. Huang T'ien 'August Heaven'. Kuo yü: Yüe yü, hia (an oath upon a covenant): Huang T'ien and Hou T'u the Sovereign Earth and the rulers of the lands in the four directions will punish him" (who breaks the agreement). Tso: Hi 15: "Your Highness treads on the Hou T'u Sovereign Earth and carries over your head Huang T'ien August Heaven; Huang T'ien and Hou T'u hear your words" (you must keep your promise).

4. Hao T'ien 'Vast (Great) Heaven'. Shī: Tsie nan shan: "Hao T'ien is not kind".

5. Shang Ti. It is, in fact, impossible to decide whether this means 'the Monarch (God) on High' or 'the (uppermost:) highest Monarch (God)'. The phrase is exceedingly common, from the very first chapter in Shu: Yao (Shun) tien: "He *Lei* made *Lei* sacrifice to Shang Ti". That Shang Ti is the same as T'ien is clear in various passages. Shī: Wen Wang: "Great, indeed, was T'ien *ming* Heaven's appointment . . . Shang Ti *ki ming* gave his appointment . . ." Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): "It will be manifest that you have received [your mandate] from Shang Ti, T'ien will renew its mandate". Shu: Ta kao: "There are ten men who obey and understand Shang Ti's charge, but T'ien is not to be relied on" (the mandate is uncertain). Mo: T'ien chī, shang: (They prepared rich offerings)" and with them they sacrificed to Shang Ti and the Spirits and thus sought happiness from T'ien". The character of a personal deity is here again attested by many passages: Shī: Sheng min: (We prepare sacrificial dishes), "as soon as the fragrance ascends, Shang Ti placidly enjoys it". Shu: K'ang kao: "It was seen and heard by Shang Ti". Tso: Siang 24: "Shang Ti looks down upon you". Mo: Tsie tsang, hia: "Shang Ti and the Spirits then from above (lay hands on:) direct them".

6. Huang T'ien Shang Ti. That we have here not two but *one* deity with the epithets 3 and 5 combined follows from many passages. Shu: Shao kao: "Oh, Huang T'ien Shang Ti has changed its principal son (i.e. chosen the "Son of Heaven" from another house) and the great state Yin's mandate" Shu: Shao kao: "May the king come and (continue:) take over the work of Shang Ti . . . he shall [governing] from there be a counterpart of Huang T'ien".

7. Hao T'ien Shang Ti. Here again we have one, not two deities, with the epithets 4 and 5 combined. Shī: Yün Han: "Hao T'ien Shang Ti does not (*yü:*) care about us". Tso: Ch'eng 13: (Ts'in has come and sought a covenant) "clearly appealing to Hao T'ien Shang Ti".

8. Ti 'the Monarch', evidently a mere abbreviation of the fuller Shang Ti. Shī: Sheng min: "She (Kiang Yüan) trod on the big toe of Ti's (i.e. Shang Ti's, God's) foot-print" (and became pregnant). Shī: Wen Mang: "He is on the left and right of Ti" (God). Shī: Huang yi: "Ti said to Wen Mang"; *ibidem*: "Ti probed his heart". Tso: Hi 10: (the spectre of a dead prince said:) "I have presented a request to Ti and obtained it . . . Ti has granted that I punish the culprit". Tso: Chao 1: "He dreamt that Ti said to him . . .". Sün: K'iang kuo: "The people venerated him like Ti (God)".

So far all is plain sailing. But matters are already complicated by one of the very first systematizers, a ritualist.

The Chouli is the most complete description, given as a whole, of the entire ritual and sacrificial system, composed in the 3rd, possibly the 4th c. B.C.; one section (the Sī-k'ung) is lost, it is true, but since it should deal with the official works, it is not likely to have contained any noticeable data about sacrifices. In the Chouli system there are frequent sacrificial services that fall under the heading of Heaven.

On the one hand, we find entries quite like those quoted above. Chouli: Ta tsung po: "With a *Yin* sacrifice one sacrifices to Hao T'ien Shang Ti" (this is immediately followed by: "with a pyre one sacrifices to Sun, Moon, Stars and Constellations). Hao T'ien Shang Ti is here obviously *one* deity, as in the free texts.

On the other hand, we find: Chouli: T'ien juei: "With four Kuei tesserae one makes *Sī* sacrifice to T'ien and one makes *Lū* sacrifice to Shang Ti". Here it would seem that the Chouli author took T'ien and Shang Ti to be two different deities. There is only one other text that might be cited in support of this: Hiao king: "Anciently Chou Kung made *Kiao* sacrifice to Hou Tsi making him a counterpart to T'ien; he made *Tsung* sacrifice to Wen Wang in the Ming-t'ang, making him a counterpart to Shang Ti". The Hiao king, however, is a poor source: a homily by some late Chou or possibly early Han Confucian scholiast, very similar to some in the Li ki and of a type strongly reminiscent of Han-time homilies for instance in the Shuo yüan. Moreover, it is in conflict with the free text Kuo yü: Lu, shang, which records

that the Chou made the *Tsung* sacrifice to Wu Wang, not to Wen Wang (Li: Tsi fa says the same). Thus the Hiao king entry is highly suspect.

To the commentators of the classics, however, the Tien juei entry has seemed decisive and the famous Cheng Hsuan has found an explanation: there were two kinds of Shang Ti.

Chouli: Chang ts'i: "When the king makes the great *Lü* sacrifice to Shang Ti"—here Cheng says that it refers to the king's sacrifice to T'ien on a round altar (T'ien and Shang Ti being identical, as in the free texts).

Chouli: Ta tsung po: "When the state is in peril, one makes *Lü* sacrifice to Shang Ti—here Cheng says Shang Ti is equal to Wu Ti 'the Five Monarchs' (he says the same about the Shang Ti in the Tien juei passage quoted above), and Shang Ti should here then be interpreted in the plural: "The High Monarchs (Gods)". This has been too strong for the great scholar Sun Yi-jang (end of the Ts'ing dynasty) who interprets: "*Lü* sacrifice to [one of the] High Monarchs", more precisely the first in the traditional series of five.

Cheng's wild idea can be immediately refuted by the Chouli text itself: Chouli: Sī fu: "When [the king] sacrifices to Hao T'ien Shang Ti, he wears . . .; when he sacrifices to the Wu Ti Five Monarchs, he does the same". Similarly under Chouli: Chang ts'i there is first *Lü* sacrifice to Shang Ti and in the next line *Sī* sacrifice to Wu Ti. Evidently Shang Ti is not one of the Wu Ti and Hao T'ien Shang Ti should not be split up into two deities.

What, then, is the explanation of the Tien juei passage above? The answer is simple. The cult of the God T'ien, Heaven, has been grafted on to the royal ancestral cult, in that T'ien was proclaimed to be the primeval creator and ancestor of the ruling family; hence the king was styled T'ien tsī 'Son of Heaven' (frequently, both in Shī and Shu, etc.). As a nature God T'ien he received a *Sī* sacrifice, as an ancestor, Shang Ti, he received a *Lü* sacrifice. It should be observed that this highest deity was so important that he, according to the Chouli, received various kinds of sacrifices besides those already mentioned: *Yin Sī* (Ta tsung po), *Lei* (Ta chu), *Lei ts'ao* (Sī shī).

The Wu Ti, Five Monarchs, however, play an important part in the Chouli cult system, sacrifices to them being described under many offices (Ta tsai, Chang ts'i, Ta sī-t'u, Ch'ung jen, Siao tsung po, Sī fu, Ta sī-k'ou, Siao sī-k'ou, Shī shī). It is necessary to find out whether this cult is confirmed by free texts and, if so, whether it belongs to the ancestral cults or to the nature-god cults.

The former is clearly indicated by the free text Chuang: T'ien yün: "I will tell how the San Huang three August Ones and the Wu Ti Five Monarchs governed the realm", and (*ibid.*): "The rites and institutions of the San Huang and the Wu Ti". More indefinite is Ch'u: Si sung: "I bid the Wu Ti to come and judge between us", and a mention of San Huang Wu Ti in the free text Lü shī: Kuei Kung. For the rest the free texts do not use the term Wu Ti. Yet Yi: Hi ts'i, hia, without using the term Wu Ti, enumerates five primeval potentates: P'ao Hi, Shen Nung, Huang Ti, Yao, Shun, who might answer to the term; this, however, has not been

accepted by later systematizers. In any case the series clearly belongs to the sphere of the ancestral cult. Tso: Chao 17 (still not using the term Wu Ti) gives another set of five primeval overlords: T'ai Hao, Kung Kung, Yen Ti, Huang Ti Shao Hao, but here again this set has not interested the systematizers.

There is, however, a free text (the same Tso: Chao 17) where some such primeval "rulers" have a certain connection with cosmological features. "(The state of Sung is the territory corresponding to the constellation Ta-ch'en); the state of Ch'en is the territory of T'ai Hao and the state of Cheng is the territory of Chu Jung, both corresponding to the constellations Huo and Fang; the state of Wei is the territory of Chuan Hū, corresponding to the constellation Ta Shuei". And Tso: Hi 22: "The states of Jen, Su . . . they direct the sacrifices to T'ai Hao, the house of Yu Tsi" (Tsi, the river in Shantung, the East).

Another free text of interest here is Chuang: Ying ti wang: "The Ti Monarch of the Southern ocean is<sup>1)</sup> Shu [1] "Impetuous" the Ti of the Northern ocean is Hu [2] "Sudden", the Ti of the centre is Hun-tun "Chaos". This is one of Chuang's many eccentric allegories but it may reveal that he knew of some cosmological lore about Ti Monarchs dominating certain cardinal points.

If we now turn to the early systematizers, the ritualists, we find certain passages merely pointing to the ancestral cult ideas: Chouli: Wai shī: "He keeps S a n H u a n g W u T i c h ī s h u the documents of the San Huang and the Wu Ti". This evidently refers to some primeval potentates who belong to the ancestral cult.

Ta Tai li: Wu Ti tê has a detailed history of the Wu Ti who, according to its system, were Huang Ti, Chuan Hū, K'u, Yao, Shun. There is nothing in this extensive text that suggests any connection with the nature-god cults.

On the other hand, the ritualists sometimes, while still labouring with primeval "Monarchs", give their system a touch of cosmological ideas.

In the Lū shī ch'un ts'iu (3rd c. B.C.; the same chapter incorporated under the name of Yüe ling in the Li ki) we find a row of "Monarchs" who represent the four seasons, and implicitly the four quarters: T'ai Hao—spring (East), Yen Ti—summer (South), Huang Ti—end of summer (centre), Shao Hao—autumn (West), Chuan Hū—winter (North) (this same account, strongly enlarged and embroidered upon but identical in regard to the Five Monarchs recurs in Huai-nan: Shī tsé hūn).

In Chouli: Siao tsung po we find that this officer c h a o makes altars for the Wu Ti in the sī kiao four suburbs (East, South, West, North); the text does not tell us how 5 "Monarchs" could be housed in 4 suburbs, but the trend of thought resembles that of the Lū shī ch'un ts'iu above.

It is only when we come down to early Han-time that we come across an independent cosmological scheme of "Monarchs" who are not tied up with primeval ancestral figures but clearly belong to the nature-god conceptions. Sī-ma Ts'ien (T'ien kuan shu, at the end) records Ts'ang Ti the Blue Monarch (East), Ch'ī ti the Red Monarch (South) Huang Ti the Yellow Monarch (centre), Pi Ti the White Monarch (West) and Hei Ti the Black Monarch (North).

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<sup>1)</sup> Figures in brackets refer to the table of Chinese characters at the end of this article.

The early commentators are much at variance in their speculations. Cheng Chung (under Chouli: Chang ts'i) simply says: "The Wu Ti were the Ti of the five colours" (with Si-ma). Cheng Hün (under Chouli: Siao tsung po) says that they were Ts'ang Ti the Blue Monarch with T'ai Hao partaking of the sacrifice [3], Ch'i Ti the Red Monarch with Yen Ti partaking, Huang Ti the Yellow Monarch with the primeval ruler Huang Ti partaking, Pai Ti the White Monarch with Shao Hao partaking and Hei Ti the Black Monarch with Chuan Hü partaking. Thus Cheng Hün has achieved a precarious fusion of the nature-god system of Si-ma's with the ancestral-cult system of Lü Shī ch'un ts'iu (no doubt because of the cosmological touch which in that source was added to the ancestral-cult fundament and because of the hints of cosmology in Tso and Huang recorded above). But then Cheng had to discard entirely the scheme of the Ta Tai li: Wu Ti tê.

And various other commentators had other ideas than those of Cheng Hün. The Shu sü, Preface to the Shu, says that the "San Fen" were Fu Hi, Shen Nung and Huang Ti and the Wu Tien [4] "the five norm-givers" were Shao Hao, Chuan Hü, K'u, Yao, Shun—this obviously corresponding to the phrases San Huang Wu Ti in Chuang and Chouli above and just as obviously referring to them as primeval rulers and civilizers with no nature-god character. Han shu: Wei Siang chuan proposes T'ai Hao, Yen Ti, Shao Hao, Chuan Hü, Huang Ti—the same as in Lü-shī, but with a change in the sequence. When the term Wu Ti occurs in Ku-liang: Yin 8, Fan Ning (4th c. A.D.) says they were Huang Ti, Chuan Hü, K'u, Yao, Shun, thus following Ta Tai li above, against the Lü shī (Li: Yüe ling). And so does Ying Shao in Feng su t'ung yi. Most curious is that when the Wu Ti occur in the Lü shī ch'un ts'iu in other chapters than the one cited above, Kao Yu again follows Ta Tai, just like Ying Shao and Fan Ning, in spite of the system in the former chapter. Kao Yu does the same in a comment upon Huai-nan: Pen king hün.

To sum up: We find that the theme of the Wu Ti as high-gods of the quarters and symbolized by the five colours is fully established as a nature-god theme in early Han time. Before that, through more or less indirect hints in the texts of the early systematizers (Chouli, Lü shī) and even in two free texts (Tso, Chuang) we can discern that some ideas of this kind may have already existed in the last centuries before Han. But we have no right whatever to assume that such beliefs were current in the beginning or at the apogee of the Chou era—no texts sufficient for supporting such a conclusion are available.

It is likewise evident that within the sphere of the ancestral cults of the noble families there were beliefs that coupled certain sets of primeval heroes or founders into groups of Wu Ti "Five Monarchs" (the free Chuang and the systematizing Ta Tai li). But whether these beliefs resulted in special sacrifices to such "five-men" groups or not we cannot decide; the free texts give us no lead (the hint in Tso: Hi 22 above being too slight a *point d'appui*), and the nature of the sacrifices to Wu Ti so frequently recorded in the systematizing Chouli remains obscure. The identifications of the Wu Ti given by the later commentators go wildly apart and are void of value.

## II

As counterpart to T'ien Heaven the texts have Ti 'Earth', the phrase T'ien Ti 'Heaven and Earth' being ubiquitous in all the pre-Han literature. That Ti 'Earth' was likewise conceived as a deity is attested in various texts, but the sacrifices to this Ti do not hold such a prominent place as those to Heaven. The earliest testimony is Shī: Yün Han: *shang hia tien yi* "To [the powers] above and below we have *tien* offered up and *yi* buried [sacrificial gifts]". The word *Yi* [5] is a technical term for a sacrifice by burial to Ti Earth. It is defined as such in Li: Tsi fa and in Yili: Kin li and in Erya: Shī t'ien; and the free text Lü shī ch'un ts'iu: Jen ti says: "When one has a good crop, one makes *Yi* sacrifice to T'u Earth". Further, when in Ode Mien we find: "And then he raised the Chung T'u [6] Great T'u-altar", this certainly refers to the cult of Ti or T'u. Regular annotations about sacrifices to Ti Earth are for the rest only to be found in the works of the early systematizers. Chouli: Tien juei: "With two Kuei tesserae one *sī* Ti sacrifices to Ti Earth"; Chouli: Ta tsung po: "With jade he makes the six ritual objects to pay homage to T'ien Heaven, Ti Earth and Sī Fang the Four quarters; with a yellow *ts'ung* jade he pays homage to Ti Earth". Li: K'ü li: "The Son of Heaven sacrifices to T'ien, Ti, Sī Fang"; Li: Tsi fa: "(With a pyre on the great round altar one sacrifices to T'ien), with gifts *yi* - *mai* buried at the rectangular altar one sacrifices to Ti Earth".

The documentation for the divine character of Earth will, however, be fuller if we realize that this deity is alternatively called T'u Earth. It is important here to observe that T'u is not at all identical with Shê the Spirit (god) of the Soil, to whom we shall revert later. The identity, as a deity, of Ti and T'u (in fact synonymous names) is easily attested. Kung-yang: Hi 31: "The Son of Heaven sacrifices to T'ien Heaven, the feudal lords sacrifice to T'u Earth"; and we have already cited Lü shī: Jen ti: "When one has a good crop one makes *Yi* sacrifice to T'u" (Li: Tsi fa and Yili: Kin li: *Yi* = 'sacrifice to Ti'). Mostly T'u as a deity is honoured by the epithet *hou* [7] 'sovereign': Hou T'u 'the Sovereign Earth'. We have already cited above a passage in Kyü: Yüe yü: "Huang T'ien August Heaven and Hou T'u the Sovereign Earth . . . will punish him" (who breaks the agreement). Even more decisive is the passage in Tso: Hi 15, likewise in part cited above. The prince of Ts'in had captured the prince of Tsin but promised the dignitaries of the latter not to kill his prisoners; they answered: "Your Highness treads on Hou T'u the Sovereign Earth and carry over your head Huang T'ien the August Heaven, Huang T'ien and Hou T'u certainly hear your Highness's words" (you must keep your promise). A few lines later, some advisers in Ts'in urged their prince to treat the prince of Tsin severely, but the former says: "By T'ien Ti Heaven and Earth I have *y a o* [8] bound myself, if I broke my word, I would cheat T'ien Ti". It is quite evident that Hou T'u Sovereign Earth and Ti Earth are here one and the same divine power.

An interesting detail in Ch'u ts'ī: Chao hun shows that in popular belief the Spirit of Earth was conceived as a personal figure: "O soul, come back! Go not down to the Land of Darkness where the T'u Po [9] lies . . .". (For "T'u Po" cf. Ho Po below, the Lord of the Ho, Spirit of the Yellow River).

The early systematizers frequently mention the Earth deity. Chouli, again, identifies Ti and T'u: under Ta sī-yüé it is first spoken of Ti shī [10] the "powers of Earth" and a few lines later they are called T'u shī [11]. Chouli: Ta tsung po: "When the King gives a fief, he first announces it to Hou T'u: Chouli: Ta chu: "When one establishes a new state, one first announces it to Hou T'u". Li: T'an Kung: (At a loss of territory) "the prince laments to Hou T'u". Lü shī ch'un ts'iu (as above, also=Li: Yüé ling): "End of summer . . . its Shen Spirit is Hou T'u".

The story of Hou T'u is complicated by the fact that it was grafted on to the legends that formed the basis of certain ancestral cults. This has been fully described and analysed in *Legends* pp. 239-242 (also, on p. 247, the muddle that the commentators have made of this theme), and need not be repeated here. But another curious problem concerning this deity should be discussed briefly.

The word h o u [7] Arch. *g'u*, shang sheng, cognate to h o u [12] Arch. *g'u*, p'ing sheng 'feudal lord' means 'sovereign', but it is ambiguous since it can refer both to a man and to a woman. In the oldest texts it always refers to a man. In Shī there are (apart from the name Hou Tsi) 9 cases (Odes 243, 244, 255, 271, 273, 282, 303), in Shu 13 cases (Yao [Shun] tien, Kao Yao mo [Yi Tsi], T'ang shī, P'an Keng, Tsī ts'ai, Li cheng, Ku ming, Lü hing)—all of them indicating lords, never ladies. On the other hand, in the Tso chuan it sometimes refers to a lord or a king but just as often to a queen or the consort of a feudal lord, and so it is used *passim* in the rituals. The question is then this: does Hou T'u mean "the sovereign lord (king) T'u" (male) or "the sovereign lady (queen) T'u" (female)? In other words, was Ti Earth, also called T'u or Hou T'u Earth, counterpart to T'ien Heaven, a male or a female deity?

In the Yi King the first hexagram is K'ien referring to Heaven. The second is K'un [13] referring to Earth. Under the latter the principal text begins: ". . . K'un: it gives the advantage of a p' i n m a [14] mare's solidity". The T'uan says: "The p' i n m a mare is of the lei category (nature) of Ti Earth". The Siang says: "The shī force of Ti Earth is K'un". Yi: Hi ts'i, shang says: "The principle of K'ien creates the n a n man (male), the principle of K'un creates the n ü woman (female)". There can be no doubt that to the author of the Yi text and of the Hi ts'i the Ti Earth was a female power. This is alluded to in Kyü: Tsin yü: 4 K' u n m u y e [15] "K'un is female (womanly)". In Kuan: K'ing chung, ki, we find: "The king goes out and sacrifices to w a n g m u [16] the Royal Mother" (Yin Chī-chang: w a n g m u means T'u shen the Spirit of the Earth).

It is evident that in the latter half of the Chou era the deity Earth was conceived as a female power. This does not necessarily prove that this conception reigned also in the beginning of that era.

### III

A term frequently figuring in the works of the early systematizers, the ritualists, but rarely in the free texts is the *Wu Si* [17] "Five sacrifices", and is it a moot question what this term really refers to.



A fundamental text is here the free Tso: Chao 29, where a story is told in which ancestral cults and nature-god cults are intervoven. The potentates Shao Hao, Chuan Hū and Kung Kung had prominent sons who were made *wu kuan* "the five officers" with the charge of presiding over the 5 elements. They were successful and afterwards sacrificed to as *kuei shen* "high Spirits" in the sacrifices of Shê Tsi (for these see below) and *Wu Sî* "the Five sacrifices". One was the Master of wood, the Spirit Kou Mang; one was the Master of fire, the Spirit Chu Jung; one was the Master of metal, the Spirit Ju Shou; one was the Master of water, the Spirit Hūan Ming; one was the Master of earth, the Spirit Hou T'u (here the story teller mixes in the cult of the Ti=Hou T'u studied under II above and moreover says that this Spirit became the Shê, Spirit of the Soil, another deity to be studied below—an amusing integration trick, which is repeated in Kyü: Lu yü, shang).

It is easy to see through how we have five nature deities grafted on to the ancestral cults of some prominent houses.

Another free text which possibly may be taken into account, with a quite different purport, is Kyü: Lu yü, shang where it is said of the sacrifices *Ti*, *Kiao*, *Tsu*, *tsung*, *Pao* [18] that "these 5 are the kingdom's *tien sî* "regular (fundamental) sacrifices". Though the term *Wu Sî* is not used here, it could be admissible that *tien sî* and *Wu Sî* are the same thing. These 5 sacrifices fall entirely within the ancestral cult.

Yet another free text, Sün: Cheng lun, tells us that the wise monarch is served fine food and *yung er ch'ê hu Wu Sî* "The Ode Yung is played when [the meal finished] one removes the dishes to the Wu Sî". As Liu T'ai-kung has proved, this is a parallel to Chouli: Shan fu where it is said that "when the king has finished eating, the dishes are removed to *tsa o* [19]"; this character is here *kia tsie*, loan character, for *tsa o* [20] 'the hearth' (furnace, cooking place), see Karlgren, Loan Characters in pre-Han Texts, par. 1761. And the theme is more fully expressed in Huainan: Chu shu hün: "One plays the Yung and removes the dishes, when the meal is finished one sacrifices to *tsa o* [20] the hearth". The phrase in Sün above therefore means: "One plays the Yung when the dishes are removed to [one of the] Five sacrifices" (sc. the Hearth). In this version the *Wu Sî* have in view neither the nature-gods in Tso above, nor the ancestral sacrifices in Lu yü but a set of five sacrifices to Spirits of certain localities (one of them being the Hearth).

There are thus three widely different possibilities in regard to the *Wu Sî* "Five sacrifices". What have the systematizers made of this dilemma? None of them have taken up the Kuo yü set of five ancestral sacrifices, but the themes of Tso and Sün are both represented.

In Li: Tsi fa it is said that the king has *ts' i sî* "Seven sacrifices" to Sî Ming the master of fate, Chung Liu the impluvium in the abode, Kuo Men the city gate, Kuo Hing the city roads, Li the spectres, Hu the door (mansion gate) and Tsao the hearth (furnace); the feudal prince has *Wu Sî* "Five sacrifices" to Sî Ming, Chung Liu, Kuo Men, Kuo Hing, Li. Observe that whereas in the series of 7 sacri-

fices there is one to the Tsao Hearth, in the series of 5, the *Wu Sî*, the Tsao is missing.

The *Lü shî ch'un ts'iu* (=Li: Yüé ling), the text already adduced under I above, has worked up the two principal ideas into an imposing whole, but it has had to tamper with the ancestral half of the Tso chuan scheme, leaving out Kung Kung and falling back on the Wu Ti "Five Monarchs" studied under par. I above:

East, Spring: Its Monarch is T'ai Hao, its *shên* Spirit is Kou Mang, its sacrifice is Hu, Door;

South, Summer: Monarch Yen Ti—Spirit Chu Jung—sacrifice Tsao Hearth;

Centre, end of Summer: Monarch Huang Ti—Spirit Hou T'u—sacrifice Chung Liu Impluvium;

West, Autumn: Monarch Shuo Hao—Spirit Ju Shou—sacrifice Men City Gate;

North, Winter: Monarch Chuan Hü—Spirit Hüan Ming—sacrifice Hing Roads.

Here we thus find the 5 nature-gods of the Tso account but not coupled with the same potentates as there, and with an important difference: in Tso the fusion of the natural cult with the ancestral cult demanded that some heroes of the latter were transformed into the former; here, in *Lü shî*, they are not identified, there is merely a parallelism, and, moreover, as a third element in the system are added *Wu Sî* Five sacrifices: not the same "five sacrifices" as in Li: Tsi fa, but five out of the "seven sacrifices" (of the king) in that text.

When we come down to the Han scholars, we find great uncertainties and discrepancies.

On Chouli: Ta tsung po, Cheng Chung simply says that the *Wu Sî* were the sacrifices to the *wu sê ch'i Ti* "Monarchs of the 5 colours" (see *Sî-ma Ts'ien* under I above). Cheng Hüan, on the contrary, here picks up the Tso chuan theme but mixes it with his Wu Ti ideas: when one sacrifices to the Wu Ti (according to him: T'ai Hao, Yen Ti, Huang Ti, Shao Hao, Chuan Hü, after *Lü shî* above), one sacrifices at the same time to the "Spirits of the 5 officers", Kou Mang, Chu Jung, Ju Shou, Hüan Ming, Hou T'u. In commenting on Chouli: Siao chu, however, he follows the other line: here the *Wu Sî* mean 5 out of the 7 sacrifices of the king, as given in the Tsi fa above, sc. Chung Liu, Kuo Men, Kuo Hing, Hu, Tsao. And on Li: K'ü li, the phrase "The Son of Heaven offers the *Wu Sî* Five sacrifices" he again lists the five just stated.

Pan Ku in Po hu t'ung and Wang Ch'ung in Lun heng give a slightly different list: Men, Hu, Tsing the Well, Tsao, Chung Liu. There is probably a graphical reason for this difference: the archaic characters for *tsing* 'well' and *hing* 'road' are very similar, and the *tsing* is probably a mistake due to this.

These examples of the scholastic speculations may suffice. The truth beneath all this confusion is probably that (to a certain extent confirming Cheng Hüan) there were two sets of rites called by the simple term *Wu Sî* the "Five sacrifices".

Neither of them concerned the Wu Ti, if we can judge from the Chouli itself and disregard the commentaries. In Chouli: *Sî fu* a detailed account is given of how the king should be dressed for various sacrifices: one kind of garments for

sacrifices to Hao T'ien Shang Ti and to the Wu Ti the "Five Monarchs"; another kind for those to ancestors; another kind for those to Mountains and Rivers; another kind for those to Shê (Spirit of the Soil) and for *Wu Si* the "Five sacrifices". The Wu Ti and the *Wu Si* are here kept well apart.

The free text Tso: Chao 29, on the other hand, connects, as we have seen, three primeval potentates, Shao Hao, Chuan Hü and Kung Kung, with the five nature-gods Kou Mang etc. in a patently artificial way in the interest of the religious prestige of some powerful clans.

The importance of four of these five Spirits, unmistakably nature-gods, in the popular beliefs of the Chou-time gentry is confirmed by various texts.

Mo: Ming kuei, hia narrates how prince Mu of Ts'in during a visit to the ancestral temple saw a Spirit enter; he had a human face but a bird's body. He said that he was a messenger from Ti (Shang Ti) promising the prince 19 years more of life. Asked about his name, he said: I am Kou Mang.

Mo: Fei kung, hia: There was a Spirit who came (to T'ang) and said . . . "I will give you a great victory. I have received a charge from T'ien Heaven. Heaven charged Jung (Chu Jung) to send down fire on the north-west corner of the wall of the city of Hia".

The same Spirit had appeared earlier. Kyü: Chou yü, shang: "At the rise of the Hia dynasty Jung descended on the Ch'ung-shan, at its fall Huei-lu sojourned two nights at K'in-suei". Huei-lu was evidently likewise a fire-Spirit, cf. Huan Ming below.

Kyü: Tsin yü 2: The prince dreamt that he was in the temple when a Spirit with a human face, white hair and a tiger's claws stood holding a battle-axe and gave the prince a warning. The prince was scared but the Spirit said: "do not flee, Ti (Shang Ti) has charged me to say . . .". A diviner took oracle about the dream (it turned out to have been Ju Shou, who was T'ien ch'ing ch'en Heaven's officer of punishment).

Tso: Chao 18: During a great conflagration in Cheng "deprecatory sacrifices were made to Huan Ming and Huei Lu". Huan Ming, the water Spirit was thus implored to combat the fire set by his antagonist Huei Lu (fire Spirit).

All these four Spirits recur in Ch'u Ts'i: Yüan yü, but this poem, traditionally attributed to K'ü Yüan or at least to his entourage, much later, of middle may be Han time (D. Hawkes, Ch'u Ts'i p. 81).

What a muddle the Han scholars and particularly the commentators have made of the myths about these Spirits was described in detail in Legends pp. 244-246.

In Chouli: Ta tsung po it is said: "With sacrifice of blood one sacrifices to Shê and Tsi and the *Wu Si* [the Spirits of] the Five sacrifices and the Five sacred mountains; with burying and submerging one sacrifices to [Spirits of] Hills and Rivers, Streams and Lakes; with crushed victims one sacrifices to the Hundred [sacred] objects of the Four Quarters". Here it seems perfectly clear that the author with *Wu Si* had in view the nature Spirits, not the Door or the Impluvium or the Hearth etc. The value of the testimony of this great systematizer is of course doubtful, but he may have known by autopsy some of these rites.

On the other hand, that other set of recipients of sacrifices does not lack documentation.

We have already adduced the Sün-tsi passage about “[one of the] *Wu Sī*, meaning the Tsao, [Spirit of ]the Hearth (furnace, fire-place). An interesting sidelight on this Spirit is given in Lun: Pa yi: “Wang-sun Kia asked [Confucius] and said: “What is the meaning of [the proverb]: it is better to pay court to the Hearth than to the South-west corner (the sanctuary of the house)”. (Better to flatter the kitchen-god than to waste dishes on the Spirits of the ancestors).

Another one in the series, the [city] Gate figures in Ch’un ts’iu: Chuang 25: “In autumn there were floods; we beat drums and offered victims to Shê (Spirit of the Soil) and to Men the [city] Gate”. Tso: Chao 19 tells us that when there were floods in Cheng, dragons fought outside the Shī Men Shī Gate and the people asked leave to make yung [21] deprecatory sacrifice [i.e. to the Spirit of the Gate] to avert the calamity (for this meaning of the term yung see Tso: Chao 1). A kindred sacrifice is described in Tso: Siang 9. During a great conflagration in Sung the chief prayer-master was ordered to sacrifice horses to the four yung [22] city walls and to sacrifice to P’an Keng outside the western gate (P’an Keng was an ancestor of the feudal house in Sung). During the conflagration in Cheng (quoted Hüan Ming above, Tso: Chao 18) they “offered prayers to the four yung city walls”.

Just like the systematizing Lü shī chapter (Yüé ling) which records Men as one of the recipients of sacrifices, the systematizing Chouli refers, under Ta sī ma, to suei shī chī Men “the Men sacrifices in the [four] seasons of the year” and, under Ch’ang jen it refers to yung Men “deprecatory sacrifices to the [Spirit of] the Gate” (cf. Tso: Chao 19 above).

In the *Wu Sī* set comprising Hearth and Gate there was further, according to the systematizing Lü shī (Yüé ling), Hing the Roads—in Li: Tsi fa Kuo Hing “the Roads of the capital city”. In the free texts there seems to be no support for such a limitation; there are sacrifices to the Roads in a more general sense.

The earliest instances in the free texts are Shī: Cheng min: “Chung Shan-fu ch’u tsu [23] went out and sacrificed to the Spirit of the Road”; Shī: Han yi: Han hou ch’u tsu “The prince of Han went out” etc.; Tso: Chao 7: “He dreamt that prince Siang tsu sacrificed to the Spirit of the Road”. That the character [24], usually meaning ‘ancestor’, is here a technical term for the Road sacrifice is explicable through the script history. The primary graph for tsu (Arch. *tsu*) ‘ancestor’ was simply [25], later on elucidatingly enlarged by the Radical 113. When used as *kia-tsie* for a word ts’u (Arch. *dz’o*) ‘to march, to go’, it should properly be enlarged by Radical 60: [26], and so it is frequently written (Shī, Shu). This is really the proper word here: (sacrifice to) [26] the walking-place:) Road. But since it is a question of a religious rite, the ancient scribes made an addition, not of Rad. 60 but of the “religious” Rad. 113. If this is correct, we should properly read: Chung Shan-fu ch’u ts’u, not ch’u tsu. In Li: Tseng tsī wen the ritualist simply employs the word *t a o* [27] in the same sense: (A feudal prince when starting a journey) “*t a o* er ch’u after sacrifice to the Road Spirit he starts”.

Another term for a sacrifice to the Spirit of the Road is Po [28]. Shī Sheng min: "We take a ram to sacrifice to Po the Spirit of the Road". This sacrifice Po is also mentioned in Chouli: Ta yü.

In the systematizing Chouli, moreover, there is a third term which may refer to a sacrifice to the Road. Under Tsu shī we find: "In spring and autumn, when one sacrifices to Pu [29] (Arch. *b'wo*)," Cheng Hüan adding that an "ancient" text version instead of the Pu had Pu [30] (Arch. *b'o*). Under Kiao jen we find: "In winter one sacrifices to Ma Pu [31]". In the first instance Cheng says that Pu means "a Spirit who injures people", in the second he says that the Ma Pu is "a Spirit who injures the horses". This guess of Cheng's lacks foundation, no other text, free or systematizing, giving any support. A row of Ts'ing scholars have attempted various explanations, but finally Sun Yi-jang has soberly given the solution. The Pu [30] is evidently the correct reading (the [29] being a *kia-tsie*, loan character). The former means 'a step' but also 'to walk' and in Tso: Siang 26 there is a phrase: "The Master of the Left saw a man who *p u m a* [32] ("caused-to-walk the horses:) exercised the horses of the [prince's] lady". Thus *m a p u* was "the road for exercising horses" and Ma Pu was the "Spirit of the Horse's Road". Sun reminds that in Shī ki: Feng shan shu there is a phrase *s i m a h i n g* [33] "sacrifice to the Ma Hing "[Spirit of the] Horses' Road", which could be a continuation in Han time of this ancient rite. This is quite convincing.

For the sacrifices to the Hu Door and the Chung Liu Impluvium we have only the words of the ritualists. The same is true of the sacrifice to Li [34] Spectres in the set of seven given in Li: Tsi fa.

In the latter there is, however, a sacrifice to Sī Ming [35] which demands attention. The only free text that mentions this Spirit is Chuang: Chī lo: "If I could get the Sī Ming Master of Fate to restore your body to life". In Ch'u: Kiu ko there are two poems called Ta Sī Ming "the Greater Sī Ming" and Shao Sī Ming "the Lesser Sī Ming", but those are only the titles; they need not be as old as the poems themselves, which do not contain the term.

In Chouli: Ta tsung po we find: "With a Yin sacrifice one sacrifices to Hao T'ien Shang Ti, with a full pyre one sacrifices to Sun, Moon, Stars and Constellations, with firewood torches one sacrifices to Sī Chung [36] Master of the Interior, Sī Ming Master of Fate, Feng Shī Master of Wind and Yü Shī Master of Rain". In Shī ki: T'ien kuan shu it is recorded that the constellation Wen-ch'ang consists of six stars, two of which are called Sī Ming and Sī Chung. It is evident, through the Chouli entry, that this astronomical nomenclature already obtained in the last pre-Han centuries. It may seem curious that the Chouli author first speaks of "stars and constellations" and afterwards, and apart, of Sī Chung and Sī Ming. It would seem that this was because to these stars had been attributed a particular influence in the human world.

The question remains why a star Spirit Sī Ming should be included in the set of *t s' i s i* Seven sacrifices in the Li: Tsi fa account about the earthly recipients of such sacrifices (Impluvium, Gate, Roads, Door, Hearth, Spectres (revenants appearing in the house)). This has seemed so unreasonable that the T'ang commenta-

tor K'ung Ying-ta has concluded that the Si Ming in that series was not the star but another Spirit worshipped with "one of the small sacrifices in the palace (man-sion)". Sun Yi-jang has tried to confirm this. The Ta Si Ming in Ch'u ts'i means the star recipient, the Shao Si Ming means the small recipient in the house; an amusing scholastic trick. The word ming means Heaven's charge, mandate, the span of life ordained by Heaven for a man, his fate. Just as other nature-gods could serve as T'ien shi messengers of Heaven (e.g. Kou Mang and Ju Shou above), so this star Spirit Si Ming the "Master of Fate" evidently had the particular task to communicate or execute Heaven's ming and thus played an important part in the life of a family, which explains why he was sacrificed to on a par with the Spirits of the Hearth, the Door, the Impluvium.

#### IV

In the preceding paragraphs we have touched upon the cults to the Spirits of some heavenly bodies. More comprehensive and important are the sacrifices to Ji, Yüe, Sing, Ch'en: Sun, Moon, Stars, Constellations. The Sun and, as a counterpart, the Moon are particularly important. The venerable Shu: Yao tien says that Yao charged Hi Chung king pin ch'u ji "respectfully to receive as a guest the rising Sun" without, however, indicating any sacrificial service. In Kyü: Chou yü, shang, mention is made of chao ji si yüe "morning (rites to) the Sun and evening [rites to] the Moon". Similarly, Ku-liang: Chuang 18 says: "The Son of Heaven chao ji makes morning [rites to] the Sun". Kuan: K'ing chung, ki, says that "when one sacrifices to the Sun one has fish as victim; when sacrificing to the Moon one has pork as victim". Tso: Chao 1 says that "The shen Spirits of Sun, Moon, Stars and Constellations—when there are unseasonable snow, hoarfrost, wind or rain, then one makes yung [21] deprecatory sacrifices to them". That the Sun was a great power is emphasized by the fact it was referred to in solemn oaths: Tso: Siang 18: yu ju ji "I swear it by the Sun". That the Spirits in question were conceived as intelligent beings is revealed by Chuang: Ta tsung shi; there is an enumeration of great mythical heroes and sages, Fu Hi etc., who tê tao "attained to, realised, got the Tao", and there we find: "Sun and Moon got It (the Tao)".

Sacrifices to stars and constellations are recorded in some free texts. Tso: Chao 1 and Siang 9 tell of a very early theme of this kind. The Monarch K'u had two sons, Ngo Po and Shi Ch'en. By Yao the former was placed in Shang-k'iu, charged with the cult of the constellation Ch'en [37], alias Ta-huo [38] (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* III p. 443); hence the Shang (Yin) dynasty sacrificed to the Ta-huo. The second son Shi Ch'en was placed in Ta-hia, charged with the cult of the constellation Shen [39]; Yao's descendants there continued the cult down to early Chou time, when the fief was given to the house of Tsin. Hence the Tsin sacrificed to Shen. This same theme is alluded to in Kyü: Tsin yü 4.

Besides such cases of direct statements about sacrifices to Stars and Constellations we have to take up here some more which, for reasons to be given presently,

may belong to this category. Two of them have already been discussed: sacrifices to Sī Chung [36] Master of the Interior and Sī Ming [35] Master of Fate, two Spirits who probably already in late pre-Han time were identified with two stars in the constellation Wen-ch'ang.

In Hanfei: Shī kuo we read that "when Huang Ti assembled the Spirits on the western part of T'ai-shan . . . Feng Po the Lord of Wind went before [his chariot] and swept and Yü Shī the Master of Rain sprinkled the road". In Ch'u: Li sao the poet makes a similar cavalcade: "and behind, Fei Lien [40] runs as my attendant".

The free texts give no lead as to the true character of these two Spirits. The systematizing ritualists frequently describe sacrifices to Sun, Moon, Stars and Constellations, and for our Feng Po and Yü Shī there is a passage of interest in Chouli: Ta tsung po, the one already quoted above: "With a full pyre one sacrifices to Sun, Moon, Stars and Constellations, with firewood torches one sacrifices to Sī Chung Master of the Interior, Sī Ming Master of Fate, Feng Shī Master of Wind and Yü Shī Master of Rain". It was described there that in Han time (Shī ki) Sī Chung and Sī Ming were the names of certain stars in the constellation Wen-ch'ang and that this must have been so already in the times of the ritualists. It has therefore been tempting for the commentators to conclude that Feng Shī and Yü Shī were likewise stars. Various Han scholars (Cheng Chung and Cheng Hūan in comm. on Chouli, Ying Shao in Feng su t'ung yi, Ts'ai Yung in Tu Tuan) have identified Feng Shī with the constellation Ki [41] ("the Winnowing Basket") and Yü Shī with constellation Pi [42] ("the Fork", cf. Karlgren, Gloss 634 on the Ode Ta tung). There are no free pre-Han sources in support of this, but to judge from the context in the Chouli passage it seems plausible to conclude that the author likewise held these two potentates to be star Spirits. Furthermore, the early scholars (e.g. Wang Yi on Li sao, Chang Yi in Kuang-ya and Ying Shao in Feng su t'ung yi) identified the Fei Lien of Li sao with the Feng Po of Hanfei and the Feng Shī of Chouli. This is fairly plausible in view of the parallelism between the three passages, and the Chouli sentence shows that the Star motif on their behalf was already current in late pre-Han time.

Again, in Chouli: T'ien fu we find: "If one sacrifices to Heaven's Sī Min [43] Master of the Population (census) and Sī Lu [44] Master of the Emoluments . . .". Since Sī Lu in Shī ki: T'ien kuan shu is one of the stars in the Wen-ch'ang constellation, just like Sī Chung and Sī Ming above, Cheng Chung and Cheng Hūan both conclude that Sī Min likewise is a star, viz. forming part of the constellation Hien-yüan (described in Shī ki). Again, there are no free pre-Han texts that confirm all these cosmological themes. The term Sī Min Master of Population occurs as the title of an ordinary official handling the census in Kyü: Chou yü, shang: but this function as applied to a star god is earliest known from the Chouli.

## V

From the celestial powers studied above we shall now pass on to some terrestrial deities and start with the most important of all: Shê, the Spirit of the Soil. Under

par. II above the deity Ti or T'u Earth was examined, and since there is obviously a hair-fine line of demarcation between the deity Earth as a counterpart of Heaven and the Spirit of the Soil as a deity of fertility, certain instances of confusion occur: it was shown under III above ("Wu Si") how Hou T'u the sovereign Earth was intermingled on the one hand with a series of nature-gods (Kou Mang etc.) and moreover hooked on to some ancestral-cult traditions, and on the other hand confused with Shê the Spirit of the Soil. But such cases are very rare; on the whole Earth and Soil are kept well apart.

Ed. Chavannes has given an extensive monograph on the latter deity: *Le dieu du sol dans la Chine antique* (appendix to *Le T'ai-chan*, 1910), in which he has collected all the lore about Shê not only in the works of the ritualists (Li ki, Chouli) but also in those of the Han authors (Shi ki, Han shu, Po hu t'ung, Tu Tuan etc.) and a long row of later scholars, dynastic histories, even down to commentaries and encyclopedias of the T'ang era. He has achieved an imposing structure out of all these materials. Let us now make ourselves free from these various systematizers and commentators and examine the data of the free pre-Han texts.

A great difficulty lies in the fact that the term Shê [45] has four distinct meanings:

1. The Spirit of the Soil himself, e.g. Tso: Chuang 7: *S h ê T s i s h i p u h ü e s h i* "(if so,) the Shê and the Tsi will certainly not ('eat bloodily'=) get bloody [sacrificial food]".
2. The altar and precinct of that Spirit, the Shê sanctuary, e.g. Tso: Min 2: *k i e n y ü l i a n g s h ê* (He will be at the right of the prince), "he will have his position between the two Shê". Ch'un ts'iu: Ai 4: "The Po Shê was destroyed by fire".
3. The sacrifice to the Shê, e.g. Shi: Fu t'ien "(With our pure grain . . .) *y i s h ê y i f a n g* we make the Shê sacrifice, we make the [Four] quarter's sacrifice". Sün: Li lun: "The Kiao [sacrifice] is limited to the Son of Heaven, the Shê [sacrifice] is limited to [him and] the feudal princes". Kyü: Lu yü, shang: "When the earth opens up (i.e. in spring) one Shê (makes the Shê sacrifice)".
4. The pole at the altar, which formed the *c h u* [46] "Spirit tablet", the seat of the deity, e.g. Tso: Siang 25: (The vanquished prince of Ch'en) "in mourning cap and *y u n g s h ê* holding the Shê in his arms" went to submit to the victor. Tso: Ting 4: "When a prince goes out with an army, the prayer-master purifies the Shê and smears the drums with [the victim's] blood and carrying [the Shê] follows".

This variation in the meaning of the word Shê entails a curious uncertainty. Was Shê, the Spirit of the Soil, one single deity, common to the whole realm, just like T'ien Heaven, Ti (T'u) Earth, Ji Sun, Chu Jung Master of Fire, Feng Shi Master of Wind etc.? If so, the numerous Shê in the feudal states would simply mean Shê altars, on which the princes sacrificed to the same Spirit Shê as the king on his royal Shê altar, in a large system of local cults all having for recipient one



and the same great universal divine power. Or was it, on the contrary, so that various localities had their own Spirits of the Soil, from the king's and the feudal princes' powerful gods down to more simple and less powerful local gods, district and village Shê Spirits, and were the sacrifices to those (in such a case innumerable) local Spirits merely analogous to one another, parallel services for deities of the same kind, fertility gods?

The latter alternative has been generally accepted without further ado, for instance by Chavannes. In its favour may seem to speak instances like the following. Tso: Hi 19: "The prince of Sung ordered the prince of Chu to sacrifice the prince of Tseng on the Shê [altar] at Ts'i-suei". Tso: Chao 11: "(The two ladies) men g made a covenant at the Shê [altar] in Ts'ing-k'iu". If Sün-ts'í's statement above that the cult of Shê did not go further down than to the feudal princes were correct, these texts would mean that a prince besides his Shê altar in his capital had subsidiary Shê altars in provincial towns, which would seem unlikely. Yet that is not so, for we can witness how occasional Shê altars were erected, and the Ts'i-suei and Ts'ing-k'iu altars may have been such: Tso: Chao 18: On the occasion of a great conflagration in Cheng the minister Tsí Ch'an "t a w e i s h ê made a great shê [altar]" and offered propitiary sacrifices to Sî Fang the Four Quarters". Even if we reject Sün-ts'í's assertion (as do Li: Tsi fa and Yüé ling) that only the king and the feudal princes had the right to have Shê altars and if we accept the idea that the governors of Ts'i-suei and Ts'ing-k'iu had Shê of their own, this could simply mean that they had Shê altars (not Shê Spirits) of their own and that they partook in the general cult of the great universal Spirit of the Soil.

Another text item which may seem significant is Lü shí ch'un ts'iu: Shen ta: "All the dignitaries were endowed with s h u s h e [47]". A s h u - s h ê according to Kao Yu was a group of 25 families, and it is tempting to conclude that every such group had a Shê of their own, which would emphatically refute Sün-ts'í's assertion. But here again it may simply mean that a group of 25 families had, not a god of Soil of their own but a Shê altar for the cult of the great general Shê Spirit of the Soil. In a widened sense the term s h u - s h ê came to mean simply "a community".

In Meng: Tsin sin it is said that "when the sacrifices have been perfect and there yet ensue drought or floods, one p i e n c h i S h ê T s i [48] changingly establishes Shê and Tsi". This, again, is ambiguous. It could mean that the ineffective gods were deposed and new and better gods appointed. But it could equally well (with Chao K'í and Chu Hi) simply mean that new and finer Shê altars and Tsi altars were instituted in order to enhance the power of the sacrifices.

In fact, though the pre-Han texts have scores of entries about Shê, there is neither in the free texts nor in the ritualists' texts a single item which could confirm that hundreds and thousands of localities each had a god of the Soil of its own.

To sum up: Due to the indistinctness of the word Shê (four different meanings: the Spirit, the c h u pole, the altar, the sacrifice) the question whether in the Chou-time beliefs there was one universal Shê, Spirit of the Soil, or thousands of local Shê Spirits, remains open.

A curious phenomenon is furthermore the Po Shê, generally interpreted as meaning the "Shê of Po". Po [49] was a capital of the Yin dynasty (see, for instance, Meng: T'eng Wen Kung, hia), vanquished by the Chou. The King of Chou had, it is said, besides his great Shê and Tsi altars, which were placed to the right outside the grand palace gate, which faced south (opposite to the Tsung miao ancestral temple to the left of the gate), another Shê altar close to the temple, called Po Shê "the Shê of Po". Lü shī ch'un ts'iu: Kuei chī tells us: "Yin's Shê was covered (roofed-over) by Chou's screens . . . a destroyed state's Shê must not be seen by Heaven". Kung-yang and Ku-liang (under Ch'un ts'iu: Ai 4) both tell the same story. Ku-liang says: "This was a k i e [50] warning; that they (housed:) built in a destroyed state's Shê meant that it should not have free communication with upper regions".

When we know, however, that the royal city of Lo was far from the erst-while Po and that, if the above yarn contained some truth, the Chou should have had to construct, in its new capital, a secondary Shê altar, called the Po Shê as a reminder of the destroyed Yin, and shut it off from daylight as a "warning"; further, that in far-off Shantung, in the court of the prince of Lu, one had made a similar "warning" Po Shê (Ch'un ts'iu: Ai 4); and, finally, that in the very feudal state of Sung, the ruling house of which were descendants of the Yin, there was likewise a Po Shê (Tso: Siang 28), so that the princes there would have put their own ancestors to shame by building a "warning" Po Shê; then we can realize that the whole of this explanation of Po Shê is mere scholastics. The Po Shê does not reveal that the Yin had a Shê Spirit of the Soil who now was dethroned and replaced by the Soil god of the Chou. It had a quite different import. The Shê altars were the scene of two opposite trends of cult performances.

On the one hand, the principal Shê was the seat of the great fertility Spirit and therefor k i [51] auspicious, as exemplified by the Shī phrase quoted above and by many other passus. Mo: Ming kuei: "In ancient times they said that the Chou house on a k i j ī auspicious day t i n g - m a o offered prayers to Shê the Spirit of the Soil and Fang the Spirits of the Quarters". Shu: Shao kao: At the founding of the new capital Lo yi they inaugurated it first with a Kiao sacrifice, and the next day "they made Shê sacrifice in the new city, one ox, one sheep, one swine". Tso: Ch'eng 13: A prince of Ch'eng received as an auspicious gift from the king flesh from a sacrifice on the king's Shê. Tso: Min 2 and Kyü: Tsin yü: 5 "A general who goes out on a campaign receives the charge in the ancestral temple and sacrificial flesh at the Shê". In times of disasters one appealed to the Shê for restoring felicity. Ch'un ts'iu: Chuang 25: "There were great floods, we drummed and sacrificed victims on the Shê". Ch'un ts'iu: Wen 15: "The sun was eclipsed, we drummed and sacrificed victims on the Shê".

On the other hand, the Shê (notably the Po Shê) was the scene for h i u n g [52] inauspicious performances. Shu: Kan Shī: =If you obey my orders s h a n g y ü t s u you will be rewarded in [the temple of] my ancestors; if you do not obey my orders, you l u y ü S h ê will be killed (punished by death) at the altar of the Soil". Mo: Ming kuei has the same story: "The rewards were given at the Tsu, the death punishments were at the Shê". Tso: Chao 10: s h ī y u n g j e n y ü

P o S h ê “for the first time we (in Lu) sacrificed men on the Po Shê”. Similarly the passage quoted above about the prince of Tseng, sacrificed on the Shê altar at Ts’i-suei.

Briefly, at the royal and feudal courts there were two Shê altars, one bright and open and “visible to Heaven” for auspicious performances, one dark and enclosed for inauspicious performances. Hence, as quoted above (Tso: Min 2) an important dignitary “was to the right of the prince, his position was between the two Shê”, i.e. he partook in both kinds of services on those Shê.

Why, then, was the second altar called Po<sup>1</sup> Shê? The explanation is quite amusing. In Li: Kiao t’ê sheng that altar is called Po<sup>2</sup> [53] Shê and so it is in Ku-liang: Ai 4 in one text version (another has P’u [54], a truncated form of the proper form Po<sup>2</sup> as given in Li). Both characters Po<sup>1</sup> [49] and Po<sup>2</sup> [53] were Arch. *b’ák* and could be used interchangeably. In Sün: Yi ping the Yin capital is called Po<sup>2</sup> [53], here *kia - tsie* loan character for Po<sup>1</sup> [49]. *Vice versa*, the inauspicious Shê altar was properly (with Li and Ku-liang) Po<sup>2</sup> Shê and the Po<sup>1</sup> Shê of Ch’un ts’iu is merely a *kia - tsie* for the former. Now the character Po<sup>2</sup> primarily means ‘trellis, screen’ and Po Shê simply means “the screened-off Shê” (where bloody executions took place). But precisely because both graphs also occurred in the texts synonymously in the sense of the place-name Po (*b’ák*), the scholiasts were tempted to invent the impossible yarn about the “roofed-in” Shê of the fallen dynasty.

That the cult of Shê, the Spirit of the Soil, was fundamentally a vegetation and fertility cult is emphasized by the fact that, besides the altar proper and its *ch u* pole, there appertained to the sanctuary, on the one hand a sacred tree, preferably of imposing size (see, for instance, Chuang: Jen kien shī), on the other hand a sacred grove (Mo: Ming Kuei: *t s’ u n g s h e* [55]. This grove was in the state Sung called Sang-lin “The Mulberry grove”, in Ch’u it was called Yün-meng “The Cloudy dreams” (Mo: *ibid.*). Lü shī ch’un ts’iu: Shen ta narrates that when the Chou enfeoffed the Yin descendants in Sung, they charged them with “the service (cult) of Sang-lin”. In the state Lu it was called Shê-yu [56]; Tso: Yin 11 tells how the prince before a sacrifice “fasted in the Shê-yu”. It would seem that for such a purpose a special building Shê kung [57] was erected within the grove (Tso: Ai 12).

Shê’s nature of a vegetation and fertility god is further illustrated by his intimate connection with Tsi (“millet”) the Spirit of Grain. The two regularly appear together as a kind of Castor and Pollux pair. To the right, outside the principal gate of the palace of a king or a feudal prince, there were the altars of Shê and Tsi close together and there are innumerable text passages in which they are combined, e.g. Meng: Li Lou, shang: “If a feudal prince is not good, he cannot *p a o S h ê* Tsi preserve (protect) his Shê and Tsi [altars]”, his state. Here again, it is hard to believe that every such Tsi altar was dedicated to a Tsi Spirit of its own and that there were a host of Tsi Spirits in the vast realm. That, on the contrary, there was one universal Tsi Spirit of the Grain, worshipped on all the Tsi altars in the realm, was evidently the doctrine of those religious leaders who early in the dynasty hooked on the ancestral cult to the nature-god cult: K’i, the primeval ancestor

of the clan Ki (royal Chou, Lu, Cheng, Tsin etc.), glorified in the Ode Sheng min, was declared to have become Hou Tsi "the Sovereign Tsi" and sacrificed to on the Tsi altars side by side with the Shê altars.

This double-sided nature of Tsi, achieved through this integration of ancestral and nature-god cults, had for effect that Tsi was sacrificed to, not only parallel with Shê but also as a Spirit adjoined to T'ien Heaven in the great suburban Kiao sacrifice. But even there his character of a fertility Spirit shines through: Tso: Siang 7: "At the suburban Kiao sacrifice we s i H o u T s i y i k' i n u n g s h i sacrifice to Hou Tsi praying for [blessing on] our husbandry".

Among the many terms for various sacrifices (Yin, Lei, Lü, Ts'ao, Tsi, Sī, Yung, Yi) there is one that applies exclusively to certain sacrifices to Shê: the y i<sup>2</sup> [58]. It is known only from the ritualists: Chouli: Ta chu and Li: Wang chī. In the latter (which got its formulation only in Han time) the phrase runs: "When the king starts on an expedition, l e i h u S h a n g T i, y i<sup>2</sup> h u S h ê he makes Lei sacrifice to Shang Ti and Yi<sup>2</sup> sacrifice to Shê". The Chouli phrase runs: T a s h i y i<sup>2</sup> y ü S h ê "On [the occasion of] great military expeditions one makes y i<sup>2</sup> sacrifice to Shê". The character y i<sup>2</sup> is interesting; its archaic graph (Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* p. 26) shows the pole of the Shê behung with slices of meat.

From the free texts the term is not known. When in the traditional Shu: T'ai shī there is a clause: l e i y ü S h a n g T i, y i<sup>2</sup> y ü C h u n g T' u [59] the commentators have concluded that Chung T'u was another name for Shê. But the T'ai shī is one of the spurious chapters and the clause only reveals what the forger thought in the 3rd c. A.D. In fact, Chung T'u "the Great T'u" is the deity Earth (Shī: Mien, see par. II above).

The proposed identity of Chung T'u with Shê has, however, an interesting background. In Shī: Fu t'ien we find: "With our pure grain and our victim-cattle and sheep y i S h ê y i F a n g we make the Shê sacrifice, we make the [Four Quarters' sacrifice, our fields are good, that is the happiness of the husbandmen; we play guitars, we play lutes and beat drums y i y ü T' i e n T s u [60] in order to (meet:) welcome the Father of Husbandry, to pray for sweet rain, to increase our millet . . .". In Shī: Ta t'ien we find: "May they (the grubs) not damage the young grain of our fields; the T'ien Tsu Father of Husbandry is divine, he will take and deliver them to the blazing fire". When now the ritualistic Chouli (under Yüe chang) says: "When a state k' i n i e n y ü T' i e n T s u prays for the crop to the T'ien Tsu"; and when we saw above that (Tso: Siang 7) "we sacrifice to Hou Tsi praying for [blessing on] our husbandry" the temptation to identification was great. Wang Mang in a memorial (Han shu: Kiao sī chī) says: "Shê, that means t' u earth, Tsi, that means the ruler of the p o k u (the many cereals:) the grain". And then he first quotes Shī: Mien: n a i l i C h u n g T' u "then he raised the great T'u altar", and secondly he quotes Shī: Fu t'ien (as above): "in order to welcome the T'ien Tsu the Father of Husbandry". He evidently identified Chung T'u with Shê and T'ien Tsu with Tsi. This, however, will not do. In the ode Fu tien there are first

sacrifices to Shê and Fang, and then, later, music for welcoming the T'ien Tsu. If the latter had been identical with Tsi, he would unfailingly have had sacrifice together with Shê, in the invariable traditional combination (Shê-Tsi). The commentators on the Chouli passage about T'ien Tsu therefore soberly say that he was [the Spirit of] the first primeval husbandman. It seems evident that the T'ien Tsu was a figure in the popular beliefs quite unconnected with the official cults of Shê and Tsi.

When in Shî: Ts'i yüe there is a line: T' i e n t s ü n c h i h i (the same in Ta t'ien): The T'ien tsün [61] comes and is pleased", some commentators have tried to identify the T'ien tsün with the T'ien Tsu above, which is vetoed by the contexts; the line simply means: "The inspector of the fields comes and is pleased".

Finally a few words about some sacrifices called Cha [62] and La [63], which may have some connection with the fertility cults. The Cha sacrifice is briefly mentioned in two free texts: anecdotes in Li: Li yün and Tsa ki; and further in some systematizing texts: Chouli: Yüe chang and Lo shî and Li: Kiao t'ê sheng. In the latter it is said that the Son of Heaven has eight sacrifices in the series of Cha, and that Cha means 'to search out', that in the 12th month one brought together (ten thousand things:) all kinds of products and sought (their authors) and offered them up"; in other words, a thanks offering at the end of the year. About the La, on the other hand, the commentators say that it is the same as the Cha, according to some a simpler form, according to others the Ts'in dynasty name corresponding to the Cha of the Chou. The latter is decidedly wrong. We know the La sacrifice from a good free text: Tso: Hi 5, and from the systematizing Lü shî ch'un ts'iu (Yüe ling): Meng Tung. In the former a sage statesman exclaims deplorably (the prince of Yü did not follow his advice:) "Yü will not perform the La sacrifice" (i.e. it will perish before the end of the year). In the latter it is said that in the first winter month the Son of Heaven performs the La sacrifice to ancestors and to the Spirits of the *Wu Sî* Five sacrifices (see par. III above, thus a combination of ancestral and nature-gods' cults) and rewards the husbandmen for their toils (evidently with some kind of feast, probably a harvest festival). The sources being so exiguous, nothing definite can be known about the nature of the Cha and the La in pre-Han times.

## VI

There were three groups of sacrifices to nature gods which were evidently somewhat coalesced: the sacrifices to Shan Ch'uan Mountains and Rivers, to Wang [64] the "Distant Ones" and to Sî Fang or simply Fang the "[Four] Quarters".

A connection between Shan Ch'uan and Wang is already attested in the venerable Shu: Yao (Shun) tien: "He (Shun) w a n g y ü S h a n C h ' u a n made Wang sacrifice to Mountains and Rivers". But for the rest they are kept apart, e.g. Mo: Ying ti sî: (When the enemy army approaches) "the prayer-master and the scribe

k a o y ü s i W a n g, S h a n C h' u a n S h ê T s i make announcement to the Four Wang, to Mountains and Rivers, to Shê and to Tsi". And no free texts identify the Si Wang with the other two.

A. Shan Ch'uan as powerful Spirits occur *passim*, besides in the two texts already quoted. Lun: Yung ye: (A brindled victim animal) "S h a n C h' u a n k' i s h ê c h u will the [Spirits of] Mountains and Rivers reject it?" Tso: Hi 19: "In Wei there was a great drought, they took oracle and sacrificed to Shan Ch'uan". Tso: Ch'eng 5: "K u o c h u S h a n C h' u a n the state presides over [the sacrifices to] Shan Ch'uan". Tso: Chao 1: "S h a n C h' u a n c h i s h e n the Spirits of Shan Ch'uan, when there are calamities of floods, drought, epidemics, then one makes y u n g deprecatory sacrifices to them".

B. Wang are likewise frequently occurring deities (besides in the two texts in Shu and Mo above): Ch'un ts'iu: Hi 31 and Sün 3: "Y u S a n W a n g moreover, one made sacrifice to the Three Wang". Tso: Chao 7: (The prince of Tsin has been sick for three months) "we have p i n g t s o u K' ü n W a n g [65] turned to all the Wang [Spirits]". Tso: Chao 13: the king of Chou t a y u s h i y ü K' ü n W a n g made great sacrifices to all the Wang and asked them to designate which of the sons should be made crown-prince. Tso: Chao 18: When there was a great conflagration in Cheng, "the prince and the dignitaries in Tsin p u s h i took tortoise and achillea oracles and turned to the Wang (on its behalf), not sparing victims and jades". Kyü: Tsin yü 8: "S h ê W a n g p i a o they raised sign-posts for performing Wang sacrifices". Tso: Ai 6: When a prince of Ch'u fell sick, the tortoise oracle recommended sacrifice to the Spirit of the Ho (Yellow River), but he refused, referring to the ancient rule: "one does not sacrifice going further out than to the Wang Distant Ones; the Kiang, the Han, the Ts'ü and the Chang [rivers] are the Wang of the Ch'u state". Kung-yang: Hi 31: "The Son of Heaven has F a n g W a n g c h i s i the sacrifices to the Quarters and the Distant Ones. The San Wang Three Wang [of the Lu state] were the T'ai-shan mountain, the Ho (Yellow River) and Hai the Sea". Shī-tsi(ap. Pei t'ang shu ch'ao: Li yi pu): "The Son of Heaven sacrifices to Si Ki [66] the Four Extreme Points, the feudal princes sacrifice to Shan Ch'uan"; Si Ki is here obviously the same as Si Wang.

C. The Spirits of Si Fang or simply Fang occur less frequently in the free texts. An instance in Kung-yang: Hi 31 was already quoted above. Further, Shī: Fu t'ien: "With our pure grain and our victim-cattle and sheep y i S h ê y i F a n g we sacrifice to Shê, to the [Four] Quarters". Shī: Ta t'ien: "L a i F a n g y i n s i he comes to sacrifice to the Quarters and to offer Yin and Si sacrifices". Shī: Yün Han: "F a n g S h ê p u m u our sacrifices to the Quarters and to Shê have not been late". Mo: Ming Kuei: "C h o u t a i c h u S h ê F a n g the Chou dynasty make prayers to Shê and to Fang the Quarters". Tso: Chao 18: (During a conflagration in Cheng, the minister Tsī Ch'an) "p o j a n g y ü S i F a n g exorcised and made purifying sacrifices to the Four Quarters".

So far the free texts. The systematizers and commentators have arrived at an extreme confusion about three groups of sacrifices, and quite particularly the famous Cheng Hūan, considered through the ages to be the great authority on the rituals.

a. Si Fang: On Chouli: Wu shī (Dance Master): "One dances the sacrifice to Si Fang the Four Quarters" Cheng Hūan simply says that "Si Fang is equal to Wang the Distant Ones". On Chouli: Ta tsung po, on the contrary, he says that Si Fang means the Spirits 1. T'ai Hao Kou Mang, 2. Yen Ti Chu Jung, 3. Shao Hao Ju Shou, 4. Chuan Hū Hūan Ming; but under another line in the same Ta tsung po he says they were 1. Kou Mang, 2. Chu Jung and Hou T'u, 3. Ju Shou, 4. Hūan Ming, thus by an amusing trick inserting Hou T'u in the series, and he repeats the latter under Li: K'ü li. Again, under Li: Tsi fa he says the Si Fang were "the Spirits of mountains and forests, streams and valleys, hills and hill-chains".

b. Si Wang: Since Cheng Hūan und Chouli: Wu shī declared that Si Fang were equal to Wang, we should expect that he would define the Wang as being identical with one or other of the sets of Spirits described under a. above. But of the Wang he gives quite a different account. Under Chouli: Mu jen he says that the Si Wang Four Distant Ones were Wu Yüe [67] the Five Peaks, Si Chen [68] the Four Dominating mountains, and Si Tu [69] the Four Drains. The Wu Yüe were, according to Erya, T'ai-shan, Hua-shan, Huo-shan, Heng<sup>1</sup>-shan [70], Sung-kao, but Cheng Hūan, under Chouli: Ta tsung po, throws out Huo-shan and replaces it by Heng<sup>2</sup>-shan [71], because he needs the former in his series of Si Chen, which he gives as Kuei-ki, Yi-shan, Yi-wu-lü, Huo-shan; these latter are four arbitrarily chosen out of the nine Chen Dominating mountains in Chouli: Chī fang shī. The Si Tu Four Drains were, with Erya, the rivers Kiang, Huai, Ho and Tsi.

Cheng Hūan's many inconsistent speculations differ widely from those of other commentators. Cheng Chung (under Chouli: Ta tsung po) says that the Si Wang were Jī, Yüe, Sing, Hai=Sun, Moon, Stars and Sea (after Wang Mang in a memorial in Han shu: Kiao sī chī). Ma Jung (under Chouli: Ta chu) says they were Jī, Yüe, Sing Ch'en, Shan, Ch'uan=Sun, Moon, Stars and Constellations, Mountains and Rivers Ho Hiu (under Kung-yang: Hi 31) says they were Jī, Yüe, Sing, Ch'en, Feng Po (Master of Wind) Yü Shī (Master of Rain). Wu Yüe Five Peaks, Si Tu Four Drains and remaining Shan Ch'uan Mountains and Rivers.

C. So much for the Si Wang Four Distant Ones. We now come to the San Wang Three Distant Ones of the state of Lu, which Kung-yang identified as the T'ai-shan mountain, the Ho river and Hai the Sea. They were "corrected" by Cheng Hūan into T'ai-shan, the Tsi river and the Huai river (thus, according to him, quite different from the Wang in Si Wang above). Fu K'ien and Kia K'uei say that the San Wang were certain stars corresponding to the Lu region and mountains and rivers inside Lu.

These examples may suffice to show the quality and value of the commentaries. If we now revert to the free texts, it appears quite clear that the Wang Distant

Ones were (with Shu: Yao tien) both certain mountains, and quite particularly certain rivers, the Spirits of which were regarded as tutelary deities of such and such a state—for Ch'u four rivers (Tso: Ai 6 quoted above: Kiang, Han, Ts'ü, Chang), for Lu one mountain, one river and the sea (Kung-yang: Hi 31 quoted above: T'ai-shan, Ho, Hai).

The exact nature of the recipients in the sacrifices to Si Fang or simply Fang "the [Four] Quarters" cannot be determined since no pre-Han texts give sufficient information. The group Shan Ch'uan may refer to any number of nature Spirits.

Among the latter there are, however, quite a few which are individually defined in the free texts:

Shu: Yao (Shun) tien: "He (Shun) came to the venerable Tai (T'ai-shan) and made burnt-offering . . . he came to the Nan Yüe Southern Peak (Huo-shan) and acted in accordance with the rites of the Tai . . . he came to the Si Yüe Western Peak (Hua-shan) and acted as in the first case . . . he came to the Pei Yüe Northern Peak (Heng-shan) and acted in accordance with the rites of the West . . . he raised altars on twelve mountains". Tso: Yin 8: "T' a i - s h a n c h i s i the sacrifices to T'ai-shan". Lun: Pa yi: "The head of the Ki house made Lü sacrifice to T'ai-shan". Mo: Kien ai, chung: "Anciently, when king Wu was going to (have service:) sacrifice to T'ai-shan". Kuan: Ti shu: "(You should) bring Feng sacrifice to T'ai-shan and Shan sacrifice to [mount] Liang-fu". Probably the T'ai-shan is meant also in Shī: Shi mai: "He cherishes and mollifies all the Spirits, even to [those of] the Ho (Yellow River) and the K'iao yüe High Peak". When in Shī: Sung kao it is said: "S u n g k a o w e i Y ü e lofty and high is the Peak, grandly it reaches Heaven; the Peak sent down its Spirit who bore [the princes of] Fu and Shen", it is probably a question of the sacred mountain of the centre which got its name Sung-kao through an allusion to the old and venerable ode. Other cases of mountain Spirits occur *passim*: Lun: Ki shī: "Anciently, a former king appointed it (the state Chuan-yü) to preside over [the sacrifices to] (mount) Tung-meng". Tso: Chao 17: "He asked permission to sacrifice to [the Spirit of] the Lo (River) and to (mount) San-t'u". Tso: Chao 17: During a great drought in Cheng envoys were sent "to sacrifice to [the Spirit of mount] San-shan". Tso: Chao 11: The prince of Ch'u "sacrificed the crownprince of Ts'ai to [the Spirit of mount] Kang-shan". Kuan: Siao k'uang "They made Wang sacrifice to (mount) Wen-shan".

Among the river Spirits none was so powerful as he of the Ho (Yellow River). Tso: Hi 24: A man made an oath calling to witness the Ho and threw a pi jade into the river. Tso: Hi 28: A general dreamt that Ho Shen the Spirit of the Ho demanded an elegant cap of his; he did not sacrifice it and suffered a great defeat in battle. Tso: Wen 12: The prince of Ts'in prayed to [the Spirit of the] Ho for victory and sacrificed a pi jade. Tso: Süan 12: The prince of Ch'u sacrificed to [the Spirit of the] Ho. Tso: Siang 18: A general from Tsin going to attack Ts'i addressed a long prayer and sacrificed two pairs of precious stones to the [Spirit of the] Ho. Tso: Chao 24: A son of king King sacrificed a precious jade tessera (an heirloom in Chou) to Ho. Tso: Ting 13: After a covenant the deed was sunk



in the Ho. Tso: Ai 6: The prince of Chu was ill and the oracle said: "It is [the Spirit of] Ho who has a noxious influence" and he was advised to sacrifice to him. Kyü: Tsin yü: 4: A prince of Tsin took the Spirit of the Ho as witness to a solemn oath and sunk a p i jade in the river. The Spirit is sometimes called Ho Po "Lord of the Ho". Hanfei: Nei ch'u shuo, shang: Somebody said to the prince of Ts'i: "Ho Po is a great Spirit". Ho Po further figures in Chuang-tsi's splendid chapter Ts'iu shuei and in Ch'u: T'ien wen, which refers to the ancient legend about Yi the Archer, who is here said to have shot at the Ho Po.

Some other rivers received similar rites. The Lo occurs, as adduced above, in Tso: Chao 17. In Tso: Ting 3 a prince of Ts'ai made a solemn oath calling to witness the Han river and sunk a jade gem in the river. Tso: Chao 1 tells how a certain T'ai T'ai (a descendant of Shao Hao and sacrificed to within the ancestral cults, see Legends p. 243) became Fen Shen [72] "the Spirit of the Fen River".

## VII

In a free text Tso: Chao 4 there is a description of the storing of ice, largely used for various ceremonial and practical purposes, for instance in the feasts for guests, on occasions of death and of sacrifice: "At the collecting of it a black bull and black millet were offered to Si Han [73] the Master (Spirit) of Cold; when it was brought out, a bow of peach-wood and arrows of thorn were employed to expel calamitous influences . . . It was deposited with a sacrifice to Si Han, the depositories were opened with the offering of a lamb". For the counterpart, the Si Shu [74] Master (Spirit) of the Heat we have only some data in systematizing texts. Chouli: Yü chang: "In the middle of spring, in daytime, one beats earthen drums and plays the Odes of Pin in order to welcome the Shu Heat; in the middle of autumn, in the night, one welcomes the Han Cold in the same way". Li: Tsi fa: . . . "at the pit and the altar one sacrifices to Han and Shu" (for this passage and a few preceding words of moot meaning, see Karlgren, Loan Characters par. 1333). Yi Chou shu: Ch'ang mai (a typically systematizing chapter): "One orders the T'ai-tsung to sacrifice to the Ta Shu Great Heat and the Shao-tsung to sacrifice to Feng Wind and Yü Rain"—this, however, referring to the first summer month.

A much more important place in the sacrificial system is occupied by the Yü [75] sacrifice for rain. That Yü was a real sacrifice is attested by Kung-yang: Huan 5: "What is the Ta Yü Great Yü? It is a h a n t s i [76] drought sacrifice". The Yü occurs frequently in the free texts. Lun: Sien tsin: "I would enjoy the breeze [where they] dance the Yü". Sün: T'ien lun: "You Yü perform the Yü and it rains—why is that?" Ch'un ts'iu *passim* (see below). The essential ingredient in the rite was the conjuratory dances performed by shamans (according to the ritualists both male and female, hence the phrase in Lun above). This is frequently stated in the rituals. Chouli: Wu shī (Dance master): "He leads in dancing the drought service". Chouli: Tao jen: "In time of drought he furnishes the paraphernalia for the Yü". Chouli: Sī wu: "In time of great drought he leads the Wu [77] shamans to

dance the Yü". Chouli: Nü wu [78] (female shamans): "In time of drought they dance the Yü". Li: Tsi fa: "In the sacred place of the Yü one sacrificed against floods and drought". Lü shī ch'un ts'iu, chung hia (=Li: Yüe ling): "The officials on behalf of the people prayed and sacrificed to . . . and they t a Y ü made the Great Yü to the Ti (monarch[s])".

The free text Ch'un ts'iu: Huan 5 says that "in autumn" they performed the Ta Yü, but Tso criticizes: the Ta Yü should be in the second of the four seasons (summer). Among the commentators there has been an extensive and heated discussion about the time for the Yü sacrifices, some of them propounding that Ta Yü was the fixed and regular rite, a simple Yü meaning an occasional rite because of a drought. Nothing of the kind can be read out of the free texts. The Ch'un ts'iu records Ta Yü in the autumn in 18 cases (Huan 5, Hi 11, 13, Ch'eng 3, Siang 5, 8, 16, 17, 28, Chao 3, 6, 8, 16, 24, 25, Ting 1, 7, 12) and in the winter in 1 case. It seems enigmatic why rites soliciting rain should be performed in the autumn, when the agricultural season is already finished, but there it is!

The most curious of all, however, is that we do not know which deity it is that is addressed and implored in the Yü rites. We witnessed earlier that one of the deities sacrificed to was the Yü Shī Master of Rain but no text, free or systematizing or commenting, connects the Yü sacrifice with this potentate. The free texts give no hint whatever. Nor does the systematizing Chouli. In the Lü shī ch'un ts'iu (Yüe ling) phrase quoted above: Ta Yü Ti "made the Great Yü to Ti" there is a suggestion avidly seized upon by the commentators. Both Cheng Hüan (on Yüe ling) and Kao Yu (on Lü shī) conclude that Ti here means Wu Ti "the Five Ti" i.e. the "Monarchs" of the four quarters and the centre (see under I above). Hü Shen (Shuowen), however, proposes to limit the term to one of them, the Ch'i Ti "Red Monarch" of the South. Tu Yü, on the other hand, under Huan 5 simply states that Ti in the moot phrase means T'ien Heaven, which is much more likely, since we have seen above (par. I) that the term Shang Ti very often is abridged into Ti.

## VIII

In the preceding paragraphs the regular nature-god sacrifices have been briefly analysed. There are, however, *passim* in the free and the ritualistic texts glimpses of other sacrifices which are less clear. We find, for instance, in Shī: Huang yi the sacrifice Ma [79] (Arch. *mā*) "sacrifice in the camping place" (to placate the Spirits molested by the invading troops), which by various commentators has been confused with the Po [80] (Arch. *pāk*) "sacrifice to the horses' ancestor" in Shī: Ki jī and with a sacrifice Ma [81], corruption of Ma [82] (Arch. *māg*) in Chouli: Sī shī, Ta sī ma and Tien chu, performed at the signal post where an army assembled, with prayer for strength and victory. For full details see Gloss 473 and Loan Characters par. 1094 and 1256. The Lü shī ch'un ts'iu: Chung ch'un (=Li: Yüe ling) records a sacrifice in spring to Kao Mei [83] the High Match-maker".

Tso: Siang 11 tells of a covenant text appealing to two Spirits Sī Shen [84] and Sī Meng [85] of which nothing further is known.

Tso: Yin 11: The prince worshipped a certain Spirit Chung Wu [86] and fasted in the Shê park before performing the sacrifice to him.

Tso: Wen 2: The sage minister Tsang Wen-chung caused the people to sacrifice to a Spirit in the shape of a bird called Yüan-kü [87]. Kyü: Lu yü, shang tells the same story, adding that the bird had come in from the sea and settled outside the eastern gate of Lu.

Tso: Chuang 32: A Spirit descended in Shen, a place in the state Kuo. The prince was advised to sacrifice to him and he sent his chief scribe to present the offerings.

We can gather from this that besides the official and regular cults there must have existed a whole world of popular beliefs and more or less primitive cults.

1 饗 2 忽 3 食馬 4 五典 5 瘞 6 冢土 7 后 8 要  
9 土伯 10 地示 11 土示 12 侯 13 坤 14 牝馬 15 母 16 王  
母 17 五祀 18 禘郊祖宗報 19 造 20 窋 21 祭 22 墉 23 出  
祖 24 祖 25 且 26 祖 27 道 28 輶 29 輔 30 步 31 馬步  
32 步馬 33 祠馬行 34 厲 35 司命 36 司中 37 辰 38 大火  
39 參 40 飛廉 41 箕 42 畢 43 司民 44 司祿 45 社 46 主  
47 書社 48 變置 49 毫 50 戒 51 吉 52 凶 53 薄 54 蒲 55  
敢社 56 園 57 社宮 58 宜 59 宜于冢土 60 田祖 61 田畯  
62 蜡 63 臘 64 望 65 羣望 66 四極 67 五嶽 68 四鎮 69 四  
瀆 70 恆山 71 衡山 72 汾神 73 司寒 74 司暑 75 雩 76 旱  
祭 77 巫 78 女巫 79 禡 80 伯 81 貉 82 貉 83 高禡 84 司  
慎 85 司盟 86 鍾巫 87 爰居



# CHOU TSU-MO ON THE CH'IEH-YÜN

BY

GÖRAN MALMQVIST

Political events in recent years have seriously disrupted the exchange of information between Chinese and Western sinologists, and a number of important articles and books by Chinese scholars have unfortunately become less readily available outside of China. This paper presents a full translation of an article by Chou Tsu-mo, one of China's leading scholars in the field of phonology and historic phonetics. The article, which is entitled "*Ch'ieh-yün* ti hsing-chih ho t'a ti yin-hsi chi-ch'u", [On the nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün* and on the foundation of its phonological system], is included in *Yü-yen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung* [Collected articles on linguistics], vol. 5 (compiled by the editorial board of the department of Chinese Studies of Peking University, and published by Commercial Press in 1963). A second, and slightly revised edition of the same article is found in Chou Tsu-mo's *Wen-hsüeh chi* [Collection of learned essays], vol. I (Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 1966).

A full translation of this important paper is further warranted by the fact that the significance of Chou Tsu-mo's arguments and conclusions extend far beyond the field of historic phonetics.

Contemporary scholarship has produced three main theories with regard to the nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün*. Bernhard Karlgren, Henri Maspero, and their many followers, have argued that the phonological categories of the *Ch'ieh-yün* are descriptive of a homogeneous *koiné* which was based on the dialect spoken in the Sui capital of Ch'ang-an towards the end of the 6th century A.D. The argument in favour of the homogeneity of the *Ch'ieh-yün* is that the great majority of modern dialects can be shown to be individually derived from it, and further, that the *Ch'ieh-yün* categories have turned out to be meaningful in terms of the earlier history of the language.

A second school argues that the *Ch'ieh-yün* system is of an eclectic nature; that the dictionary incorporates a great many obsolete readings which have been taken over from earlier rime dictionaries, and that it also registers many substandard dialect forms.

According to the third school of thought the *Ch'ieh-yün* is an entirely artificial construct which represents an attempt to create a national standard out of many diverging dialects. It has been suggested that the compilers of the *Ch'ieh-yün*

registered synchronic distinctions in a number of dialects in order to reveal diachronic patterns and that the work therefore registers the maximum number of distinctions possible on the basis of the dialects consulted.

Utilizing a wealth of corroborating material, Chou Tsu-mo has to my mind been able to establish an irrefutable theory of the true nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün*. His article is divided into five parts. In part I the author evaluates the information contained in Lu Fa-yen's *Preface* to the *Ch'ieh-yün* and in other contemporary sources concerning the dialectal differences between the North and the South. In part II Chou Tsu-mo discusses the extent to which the *Ch'ieh-yün* agrees with the various classifications of earlier rime books. In this part he also refutes the notions that the *Ch'ieh-yün* is a compilation of heterogeneous materials or an artificial construct without foundation in actual speech. Part III is devoted to an analysis of riming in works by writers of the late Nan-pei-ch'ao period (479-589 A.D.). The author shows that the majority of *Ch'ieh-yün* distinctions are upheld in the riming of poets from the Southern dynasties of Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en. In part IV he discusses the close affinity between the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes and the final categories revealed by the *fan-ch'ieh* spellings in the original *Yü-p'ien*. Part V contains an evaluation of various views on the location of the *Ch'ieh-yün* language, together with a resumé of the author's conclusions.

\*   \*   \*

This translation has been based on the second edition of Chou Tsu-mo's article. My own comments and explanatory notes are either placed within square brackets or presented in footnotes. The reconstructed forms of Ancient and Archaic Chinese which have been placed between slanting brackets are taken from Bernhard Karlgren's "Grammata Serica Recensa" (*BMFEA* 29, Stockholm 1957). Following Chao Yuan Ren's emendation (see "Distinctions within Ancient Chinese", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 5 [1941]) Karlgren's rime 94b. /*ïəu*/ has been altered to /*ïəu*/. All *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes have been numbered as in Karlgren's "Grammata Serica" (*BMFEA* 12, Stockholm 1940). Numbers placed within round brackets refer to lists of Chinese characters placed at the end of each part of this article.

In a few instances my translations of passages found in sources quoted by Chou Tsu-mo are highly tentative. One example is my attempt at translating the almost completely unintelligible passage from the *Yüan-ho hsün-sheng yün-p'u* in Part I. Such instances have been indicated by a question mark within square brackets or commented upon in footnotes.

An appendix has been added at the end containing (A) the list of *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes, reproduced from "Grammata Serica"; (B) a list of names of persons mentioned in the article; (C) a list of sources and literary works referred to in the article and (D) a list of modern works quoted by Chou Tsu-mo.

Lu Fa-yen's *Ch'ieh-yün* is an important source for the investigation of the phonetics of Middle Chinese (3rd–6th centuries A.D.). In the past many scholars have utilized the *Ch'ieh-yün* for their researches into Middle Chinese phonetics. Nevertheless, we find a lack of consensus among scholars as to some basic questions, such as the true nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün*, the foundation of its phonological system, the period and the location of the phonological stage represented by the *Ch'ieh-yün*, and whether or not it may serve as a base for the reconstruction of Middle Chinese.

In order to arrive at a thorough understanding of these problems we shall have to investigate a variety of relevant materials. We intend to start our enquiry with a study of the *Ch'ieh-yün Preface*. Although Lu Fa-yen's *Preface* is very concise, it does contain some information about the motive behind the compilation of the *Ch'ieh-yün*, and about the purport and the spirit of the work. The *Preface* says: "Formerly, in the beginning of the *K'ai-huang* reign 581–600 A.D.) the *yi-t'ung* Liu Chen, the *wai-shih* Yen Chih-t'ui, the *wu-yang* Lu Ssu-tao, the *chu-tso* Wei Yen-yüan, the *ch'ang-shih* Li Jo, the *kuo-tzu* Hsiao Kai, the *tzu-yi* Hsin Teh-yüan, and the *li-pu* Hsüeh Tao-heng together visited Fa-yen's home. In the evenings, after having enjoyed their wine, their discussions always turned to phonology. Differences obtained between the pronunciations of the past and the present and different principles of selection were followed by the various authors. In the regions of Wu and Ch'u the pronunciation is at times too light and shallow; in Yen and Chao it is often too heavy and muted; in the areas of Ch'in and Lung the *ch'ü-sheng* is the same as the *ju-sheng*, while in Liang and Yi the *p'ing-sheng* resembles the *ch'ü-sheng*. Again, (1) */tái/* and (2) */tái/*, (3) */ngiwo/* and (4) */ngi/* are treated respectively as one rime; the finals of (5) */sien/* and (6) */sian/*, (7) */iəu/* and (8) */yəu/* are treated as identical. If one wished to broaden the path of literature [by accepting forms deviating from the norm] the (9) *ch'ing* ["clear"] and the (10) *cho* ["muted"] should obviously be allowed to interchange freely. But if one wishes to appreciate good diction, then it is necessary to distinguish between the (11) *ch'ing* ["light"] and the (12) *chung* ["heavy"].

The *Yün-chi* by Lü Ching, the *Yün-lüeh* by Hsia-hou Kai, the *Yün-lüeh* by Yang Hsiu-chih, the *Yin-p'u* by Li Chi-chieh, and the *Yün-lüeh* by Tu T'ai-ch'ing all contain forms which are mutually inconsistent. The rimes used in the South also differ widely from those used in the North. And so we discussed the right and the wrong of South and North, and the prevailing and the obsolete of past and present; wishing to present a more refined and precise standard, we discarded all that was ill-defined and lacked preciseness. The *wai-shih* Yen Chih-t'ui and the *kuo-tzu* Hsiao Kai were responsible for most of these judgments.

The *chu-tso* Wei Yen-yüan said to me, Fa-yen: 'Now that all doubtful cases have been solved through our recent discussions, why not write it all down in accordance with our discourses? Let us few friends settle these matters once and for all'. And so I grasped my brush, and aided by the light of a candle, I wrote down a draft summary, which eventually was perfected through wide consultation and penetrating

research. Later I became engaged in other studies, which were carried out concurrently with my lowly official duties; for more than ten years I was unable to devote myself to this compilation. Now I have returned to my original calling, that of tutoring private students.

A knowledge of phonology is necessary for any literary undertaking . . . And so, choosing from the various rimebooks and other lexica, old and new, and basing myself on my earlier notes, I organized the material into the *Ch'ieh-yün* in five *chüan*, analysing minutiae and making fine distinctions. It is not so that I have been the sole judge in these matters; I have merely related the opinions of my worthy colleagues . . .

In the year *hsin-yu*, the first year of the *Jen-shou* reign of the great Sui-dynasty [601 A.D.]”.

The wording of the *Preface* allows us to make the following deductions:

(1) at the time of the compilation of the *Ch'ieh-yün* the various dialects were phonetically different.

The *Ch'ieh-yün Preface* says: “In the regions of Wu and Ch’u the pronunciation is at times too light and shallow; in Yen and Chao it is often too heavy and muted”. The *Preface* of the *Ching-tien shih wen* by Lu Teh-ming says: “As to dialectal differences, each individual dialect is different from all others. The greatest differences are those between the dialects of the South and the North. Some err in being to superficial and light, others err in being to heavy and muted”. This indicates that the dialectal differences between the South and the North were very great. The following statement which is found in the section on phonetics in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* conforms to the views expressed in Lu Fa-yen’s *Preface*: “The climate of the South is pleasant and gentle, the sounds are clear, high, penetrating and far-reaching. The fault [of the Southern pronunciation] lies in its being too shallow; its vocabulary contains many vulgar expressions. In the North the mountain valleys are deep and the rivers broad; the sounds are heavy, muted and dull; the positive qualities of the Northern pronunciation are its solidity and straightness. Its vocabulary contains many archaic expressions”. While the meanings of the terms (11) *ch’ing* [“light”], (13) *ch’ien* [“shallow”], (12) *chung* [“heavy”] and (10) *cho* [“muted”] are not altogether clear, they were probably meant to describe various distinctions of vowel quality, such as velarized vowels versus palatalized vowels, front vowels versus back vowels, and distinctions based on the absence or presence of labio-velar glides in prevocalic position (*k’ai-k’ou/ho-k’ou*). The section on syllabic permutations in the first *chüan* of the *Shittan rinryaku* by the Japanese monk Ryō Son contains the following quotation from the *Yüan-ho hsin-sheng yün-p’u*: “Both in the indirect connection [(14) *p’ang-niu*] and in the direct connection [(15) *cheng-niu*] of initial and final, the first spelling character and the spelled character have identical initials. But the direct connection is contained within one series [comprising *yang-sheng* and *yin-sheng* forms of all tones, together with the one *ju-sheng* form], while the indirect connection goes beyond this tonal series [in the identification of initials]. Thereby a distinction is established between the direct and the indirect connection, which in turn serves to distinguish the clear [(9) *ch’ing*] and the muted



[(10) *cho*] sounds. The (16) *K'ou fu* (?) says: 'If one wishes to seek unambiguous definitions it is necessary to apply a correct terminology'. The five initial categories are here set out in a chart; the tabulation is completed by the nine operations. When the lips are pursed the articulation is entirely muted; when the lips are spread the articulation is altogether light. It is necessary to use muted forms to spell muted forms and to employ clear forms to achieve other clear forms". (See *Taishō daizōkyō* 2709, page 659). Ryō Son's work was written in the 24th year of the *Chih-yüan* reign of the Yüan dynasty (1287 A.D.). The *Yüan-ho hsin-sheng yün-p'u*, which was quoted by Ryo Son, was written in the T'ang period. (The preface of Shen-hung's *Ssu-sheng wu-yin chiu-nung fan-niu-t'u*, which is found in the extant version of the *Yü p'ien*, is partly based on this work). Although it is uncertain whether the terms (17) *lung-ch'en* ("pursed lips") and (18) *k'ai-ch'ih* ("spread lips") refer to the articulation of initials or finals, and while the meaning of these terms is unclear, they may at least to some extent help us to understand the significance of the terms 'light and shallow' and 'heavy and muted'.

The clearest indication of the fact that the dialects of the time differed with regard to the tones obtains in the following statement in Lu Fa-yen's *Preface*: "In the regions of Ch'in and Lung the *ch'ü-sheng* is the same as the *ju-sheng*, while in Liang and Yi the *p'ing-sheng* resembles the *ch'ü-sheng*". Apart from indicating dialectal differences with regard to tones, the first part of this statement must also refer to differences with regard to the final element of the syllable. The evidence of this is rather scanty. The examples which we have discovered so far all belong to rimes of the *yin-sheng* category [i.e. rimes which contain neither of the final consonants *-p*, *-t*, *-k*; *-m*, *-n*, *-ng*]. Essentially these examples exhibit contacts between the *ch'ü-sheng* rimes 14. /*äi*-, 10. /*äi*-, 13. /*ai*-, and 15. /*vi*-/ [which all derive from Archaic finals ending in *-d*] and the *ju-sheng* rimes 42. /*ät*/, 56. *uät*/, 45. /*at*/, 44. /*ät*/, 48. /*iet*/ and 46. /*ät*/. Examples of such contacts are (19) Ho-lien Ch'ü-chieh [/k<sup>h</sup>ät/] of Chin, the personal name of whom was also written (20) Ch'ü-kai [/k<sup>h</sup>äi-/]; (21) Yü-wen T'ai [/t'äi-/] of Northern Chou, whose original personal name was (22) Hei-t'a [/t'ät/], and the term (23) *chiao-kuai* [/kuäi-/] which in the Kuan-chung [Shensi] area of the T'ang period was rendered as (24) *chiao-kua* [/kwat/]. (This last item, which is found in Hsüan Ying's *Yi-ch'ieh-ching yin-yi*, *chüan* 18, has already been referred to by Chao Chen-to in his article "Ts'ung *Ch'ieh-yün* hsü lun *Ch'ieh-yün*", [A discussion of the *Ch'ieh-yün* on the basis of the *Ch'ieh-yün* preface], *Zhongguo Yuwen* 10 (1962), 467-476).

(II) The rime books prior to the *Ch'ieh-yün* all differed with regard to their classification of rimes, and all show mutual inconsistencies.

The *Ch'ieh-yün* preface contains the following statement: "Differences obtained between the pronunciations of the past and the present and different principles of selection were followed by the various authors". The *Preface* also says: "The *Yün-chi* by Lü Ching, the *Yün-lüeh* by Hsia-hou Kai, the *Yün-lüeh* by Yang Hsiu-chih, the *Yin-p'u* by Li Chi-chieh, and the *Yün-lüeh* by Tu T'ai-ch'ing all contain forms which are mutually inconsistent. The rimes used in the South also differ widely from those used in the North". These five works are no longer extant. The

only information about their different classifications of rimes exists in the notes appended to the list of rimes in Wang Jen-hsü's *K'an miu pu ch'ueh Ch'ieh-yün*, a work of the T'ang period. These notes enable us to assess the differences between these five rime books. Of the five authors. Lü Ching, who lived in the Chin period, originated from Jen-ch'eng (the present Ch'ü-fou in the Shantung province). Yang Hsiu-chih, who was from Wu-chung, situated West of Peking (the present Chi-hsien in Hopei), was the son of Yang Ku, who served as magistrate of Lo-yang in the Northern Wei period. Yang Hsiu-chih served under the Northern dynasties of Ch'i and Chou. Li Chi-chieh, whose personal name was Kai, was the younger brother of Li Kung-hsü. His elder sister was the wife of Hsing Shao. Li Chi-chieh, who was from P'ing-chi in the commandery of Chao (the present Chao-hsien in Hopei), served under the Northern Ch'i. Tu T'ai-ch'ing, who was the son of Tu Pi of Northern Ch'i, originated from Ch'ü-yang in Po-ling (the present Ting-hsien in Hopei) and served under the Northern Ch'i, and subsequently under the Sui. Of these four scholars, Lü Ching was the earliest. Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing all served under the Northern Ch'i and were more or less contemporaneous. Furthermore, they were all from the area which was then referred to as Ho-pei ["the area North of the Yellow river"] (i.e. the area under the control of the Northern Ch'i). Hsia-hou Kai has no biography in the dynastic histories. The *K'an wu* by Li Fu of the T'ang period says: "Hsia-hou Kai of the Liang compiled the *Ssu-sheng yün-lüeh* in 12 *chüan* (according to the bibliographical chapter of the *Sui shu* the work contained 13 *chüan*). This indicates that Hsia-hou Kai served under the Liang. Yen Chih-t'ui mentions in the philological chapter [*Shu cheng p'ien*] of his *Yen-shih chia-hsün* that Hsia-hou Kai and Hsieh Kuei both had read several thousand *chüan*, which indicates that he was a man of wide learning. In the period from Wei and Chin to Ch'i and Liang most members of the Hsia-hou family resided in the commandery of Ch'iao (the present Po-hsien in Anhwei). Since Hsia-hou Kai served under the Liang, he probably took up residence in the South after the southward migration of the Northerners.

These five books served as the main reference works for Lu Fa-yen when he compiled his *Ch'ieh-yün*. Lü Ching's *Yün-chi* is the earliest of these works. The *Shang-ku chin-wen tzu-piao* by Chiang Shih of the Northern Wei states that Lü Ching [Chou Tsu-mo has Lü Ch'ên for Lü Ching], using the *Sheng-lei* by Li Teng as his model, wrote the *Yün-chi* in five *chüan* (according to the bibliographical chapter of the *Sui shu* the work contained 6 *chüan*) and that the work was divided into five sections, viz. (25) *kung*, *shang*, *chiao*, *chih* and *yü* (see the biography of Chiang Shih in the *Wei shu*). The preface of the *Yün-tsuán* by P'an Hui of the Sui says: "Of a more recent date are the *Sheng-lei* by Li Teng and the *Yün-chi* by Lü Ching, which works were the first to distinguish between the clear [(9) *ch'ing*] and the muted [(10) *cho*] sounds and between the *kung* and the *yü*". (See P'an Hui's biography in the *Sui shu*). From this we may infer that the *Yün-chi* probably only classified the rimes into large categories and that it did not establish lists of rimes in all four tones. (Evidence for this is also found in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* and in Lu Teh-ming's *Ching-tien shih wen*). The works by Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh and Tu

T'ai-ch'ing were not far removed from Lu Fa-yen's time. The bibliographical chapter of the *Sui shu* lists Yang Hsiu-chih's *Yün-lueh*, in one *chüan*, together with Li Kai's (Li Chi-chieh's) *Yin-p'u* in four *chüan*. Tu T'ai-ch'ing's work is not mentioned in the list. Yang Hsiu-chih's *Yün-lueh* is referred to in the *Ssu-sheng lun* by Liu Shan-ching of the Sui who writes as follows: "Yang Hsiu-chih, the *p'u-she* of Ch'i, was a man of literary talent of the time. Considering the facts that dialects deviate from the norm; that there are both faulty and correct rimes—the faulty ones often being used by writers in place of the correct ones—and that the present differs from the past, he then distinguished a basic series of 56 rimes, which he organized into the four tonal categories, entitling his work the *Yün-lueh*. Scholars engaged in literary composition all drew their rules from this work; the younger generation of writers was greatly indebted to him". (See the Japanese monk Kūgai's *Bunkyō hifuron* which quotes this passage; the *Ssu-sheng chih kuei*, in one *chüan*, by Liu Shan-ching, which is listed in the bibliographical chapter of the *Sui shu*, is the same work as the one referred to above). Judging from Liu Shan-ching's remarks we may assume that Yang Hsiu-chih's *Yün-lueh* contained an analysis of sounds and rimes. Since the work consists of one single *chüan*, it probably contained an analysis of only the basic series of 56 rimes, under which rime words belonging to the four tonal categories were listed separately. In this respect it differed from Lu Fa-yen's *Ch'ieh-yün*, with its classification of more than 190 rimes.

A great many rime books appeared in the Nan-pei-ch'ao period, with rather divergent classifications of rimes. This was mainly due to phonetic differences in the dialects on which these works were based. In the section on phonetics in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* we read as follows: "Each of the various phonological works possessed special local features of its own; this gave rise to mutual criticism, and it was difficult to decide which criteria were correct. While all works were based on the pronunciation of the Imperial capitals, they also accounted for common regional forms. Examinations into the pronunciation of the past and the present resulted in the establishment of an eclectic system. But all things considered, these works mainly reflected the pronunciation of Chin-ling and that of Lo-yang". The family of Yen Chih-t'ui had for generations lived in Chin-ling. He himself served under the Liang. At the end of the Liang he turned to the Ch'i and served as an official in Yeh for more than 20 years. He consequently had an intimate knowledge of the personalities, the speech and the literature of both the South and the North. Hsia-hou Kai of the Liang was renowned for his wide learning, and originally was acquainted with Yen Chih-t'ui. Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing all served under the Northern Ch'i as colleagues of Yen Chih-t'ui, who therefore must have been well acquainted with their works. The testimony of the section on phonetics of the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* must therefore be considered entirely reliable. From what has been said above we may conclude that the rime books of that time each had its own local colour and that each author, while basing himself on the pronunciation of the Imperial capitals, also took into account the pronunciation of his own local dialect, and that each work therefore received its final form after

certain eclectic adjustments. The major dialectal difference was that between the South and the North. The Northerners considered the dialect of Lo-yang as representative, while the Southerners held the dialect of Chin-ling as representing the Southern tongue. This is why the *Ch'ieh-yün Preface* says, that "the rimes used in the South differ widely from those used in the North". This indicates that the rather great divergences between the rime books of the South and those of the North were due to dialectal differences. It is regrettable that these rime books have all been lost.

The divergences in the rime classifications of these rime books were, however, not solely due to the dialectal difference between the North and the South, or to diachronic differences; they also have a bearing on the fact that each author applied different standards in his phonetic analysis and in his classification of rimes. Such instances are referred to in the section on phonetics in the *Yen-shih chia hsün*: "The *Yün-chi* by Lü Ching combines the four forms (26) /*ziäng*/, (27) /*ñziäng*/, (28) /*ɣweng*/ and (29) /*təng*/ into two rimes, and establishes a separate category for each of the forms (30) /*jwiě*/, (31) /*g'jiě*/, (32) /*·iäk*/ [Archaic/*·iek*/] and (33) /*ziäk*/ [Archaic /*dziäk*/]. The four characters of the first set are in the *Ch'ieh-yün* classified under the rimes 72. /*iäng*/, 67. /*iəng*/, 71. /*eng*/ and 66. /*əng*/ respectively. The *Yün-chi* combines them into only two rimes, one of which probably comprised /*eng*/ and /*iäng*/, while the other comprised /*iəng*/ and /*əng*/." (The original text of the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* probably listed these four characters in the following order: *ch'eng*, *hung*, *jeng*, *teng*). Lü Ching's combination of /*eng*/ and /*iäng*/ into one rime also conforms with the *fan-ch'ieh* spelling of the character (34) *meng*, (35) /*mɨwang-zäng*/, which is found in the *Tzu-lin*, a work compiled by Lü Ching's elder brother Lü Ch'en (see the *Tzu-lin k'ao yi* by Jen Ta-ch'un). In the *Ch'ieh-yün* the same character is found under the rime 71. /*eng*/, with the *fan-ch'ieh* spelling (36) /*muo-keng*/.

(30) /*jwiě*/ and (31) /*g'jiě*/ are in the *Ch'ieh-yün* both placed under the same rime, 7. /*jiě*/." The *Ch'ieh-yün* likewise classes 32. /*·iäk*/ and (33) /*ziäk*/ under the one rime 76. /*iäk*/." That the *Yün-chi* differentiates between (30) and (31) is probably due to the *ho-k'ou*/*k'ai-k'ou* distinction. As to the distinction between (32) and (33) it was probably based on a difference in the degree of palatalization of the vowels of these two syllables. These two forms belong to different classes in Archaic Chinese, (32) belonging to the *ju-sheng* section of the (37) *chih* class [Karlgren's class XIX], and (33) belonging to the *ju-sheng* section of the (38) *yü* class [Karlgren's class XVII]. In the Chin period (33) belonged to the (39) *to* class, while (32) belonged to the (40) *hsi* class (See *Han Wei Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao yün-pu yen-pien yen-chiu*, Part II). The *Ch'ieh-yün* treats (32) /*·iäk*/ and (41) /*·iäk*/ as homophones. In his *Yü-chu pao-tien*, *chüan* 6, Tu T'ai-ch'ing of the Sui quotes the *Tzu-lin*, which gives the *fan-ch'ieh* spelling (42) /*·iět-liek*/." We infer that (32) /*·iäk*/ and (43) /*liek*/ probably belonged to the same rime of the *Yün-chi*, and that the pronunciation of these two forms therefore differed from that of the post-Ch'i and Liang periods, when (32) /*·iäk*/ and (33) /*ziäk*/ belonged to the same rime. Yen Chih-t'ui discussed the *Yün-chi* from the viewpoint of the pronunciation of his own time, and therefore considered its classification inappropriate. This indicates that Yen Chih-t'ui failed

to understand the pronunciation of older phonological stages. Therefore it is apparent that the categorization of the various rime books had to be mutually incompatible to the extent that the various authors based themselves on differing pronunciations and applied differing standards of phonetic analysis and rime classification. It is quite natural that scholars who conceived of these matters in different ways would express divergent judgments on individual rime books. Thus Liu Shan-ching says of Yang Hsiu-chih's *Yün-lüeh*: "Scholars engaged in literary composition all drew their rules from this work; the younger generation of writers was greatly indebted to it". This shows that he considered it well suited as a practical handbook. Yen Chih-t'ui, on the other hand, has the following to say in the section on phonetics of his *Yen-shih chia-hsün*: "The rimes established by Yang Hsiu-chih are especially loose and rustic". This indicates that he found Yang Hsiu-chih's work too coarse and vulgar and lacking in accuracy. From this we see that differences in composition have a bearing on the demands of each individual writer and on his conception of these matters.

(III) The purpose of the *Ch'ieh-yün* was to provide a phonetic analysis; collating the past and the present and bridging the distinctions between the South and the North, the *Ch'ieh-yün* aimed at providing a correct norm of pronunciation conforming to the [linguistic] reality.

Compiling his rime book, Lu Fa-yen, who based himself on his discussions with Liu Chen, Yen Chih-t'ui, and the others, considered that the authors of previous rime books had followed different principles of selection, and that their phonetic analysis was not sufficiently refined. In some cases the authors of earlier rime books were certainly correct, such as when they distinguished between 7. /jiě/ and 4. /ji/, and between 87. /iwo/ and 88. /iu/ (this distinction was made by Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh, Tu T'ai-ch'ing and Hsia-hou Kai). In ignoring the distinctions between 44. /ien/ and 39. /iän/, and between 94a. /jǝu/ and 93. /əu/, they were not sufficiently accurate (these distinctions were ignored by Li Chi-chieh, Tu T'ai-ch'ing, and Hsia-hou Kai). The suggestion put forward by the compilers of the *Ch'ieh-yün* was as follows: "If one wished to broaden the path of literature [by accepting forms deviating from the norm] the *ch'ing* ["clear"] and the *cho* ["muted"] may obviously be allowed to interchange freely. But if one wishes to appreciate good diction, then it is necessary to distinguish between the light and the heavy". Therefore their phonetic analysis and their classification of rimes had to be refined. This is the guiding principle of the *Ch'ieh-yün*.

In their comparative investigation of the rimes the compilers naturally had to take into account differences between the South and the North, and between the past and the present. Therefore the *Preface* of the *Ch'ieh-yün* says that Liu Chen, Yen Chih-t'ui, and the others, "discussed the right and the wrong of South and North, and the prevailing and the obsolete of past and present; wishing to present a more refined and precise standard, they discarded all that was ill-defined and lacked preciseness. The *wai-shih* Yen Chih-t'ui and the *kuo-tzu* Hsiao Kai were responsible for most of these judgments". From this it may be seen that the compilers, in their discussions on difficult points and in their deliberations on synchronic

and diachronic differences, were guided by the notion of providing a norm for the pronunciation. This is quite evident from the wording of the *Preface*.

The eight persons who participated in the phonological discussions were all renowned scholars and literary men of their time. Liu Chen, Yen Chih-t'ui and Hsiao Kai, who were all Southerners, had probably all lived in Chin-ling in their early years, and had furthermore held office under the Liang. Liu Chen was the son of Liu Hsien, a scholar well versed in the *Han shu*. Hsiao Kai was the grandson of a brother of Emperor Wu of the Liang, and an expert on the *Wen-hsüan* and the *Han shu*. His publications include the *Wen-hsüan yin-yi* and the *Han shu yin-yi*. The remaining five participants were Northerners. Of the five, only Lu Ssu-tao was born in Fan-yang (the present Cho-hsien in Hopei); the others were born and raised in Yeh (the present Lin-ch'ang hsien in Hopei). But Lu Ssu-tao moved to Yeh at the age of 15 *sui* (counting backwards from the year of his death he ought to have arrived in Yeh in the 5th year of the *Wu-ting* reign, 547 A.D.). In the preface to his *Ku-hung fu* he says: "In the year in which I made up my mind to study I travelled from my village to the capital, where I became acquainted with phonology" (see the *Pei shih*, *chüan* 30). Yeh was the capital of Eastern Wei; later on the Northern Ch'i also established its capital there. As to Wei Yen-yüan (Wei Tan) the history (*Pei shih*, *chüan* 56) states that he was from Ch'ü-yang in the Chü-lu commandery (the present Chin-shen hsien in Shih-chia-chuang, Hopei), and that he was the son of Wei Chi-ching, whose father, Wei Luan, held office under the Wei and died in Lo-yang. Although Wei Chi-ching was still young at the time of his father's death, he was a man of wide learning and literary talent. At the age of about twenty *sui* he had made a name for himself in the capital (Lo-yang), as had his distant relative Wei Shou. At the beginning of the *T'ien-p'ing* reign (534 A.D.) he moved to Yeh, where he held the ministerial office of *ta-ssu-nung* and subsequently, until his death, that of governor of the Wei commandery.

At the time Wei Tan was 15 *sui* of age (*Pei shih*, *chüan* 56). From this we see that Wei Tan was born, not in Lo-yang, but in Yeh, and that Chü-lu only was the home of his forefathers. Of Li Jo the history states that he was from Tun-ch'iu (the present Ch'ing-feng hsien of the Huang-tung commandery of Honan). He was the grandson of Li P'ing and the son of Li Hsieh. The family had for generations lived in Yeh (*Pei shih*, *chüan* 43). Hsin Teh-yüan was the son of Hsin Shu-tsu. The history states that he was from Ti-tao in the commandery of Lung-hsi (the present Lin-t'ao hsien, South of Lanchow in Kansu). But members of his family all held office under the Northern Ch'i (*Pei shih*, *chüan* 50). It is therefore probable that he was born and raised in Yeh and that Lung-shi simply was the home of his forefathers. According to the history Hsüeh Tao-heng was from Lin-fen in the Ho-tung commandery (the present town of Jung-ho, West of Wan-jung in Shansi). He was the son of Hsüeh Hsiao-t'ung, who held office under the Wei, and who died in Yeh in the second year of the *Hsing-ho* reign (540 A.D.), at which time Hsüeh Tao-heng was only six *sui* of age. (*Pei shih*, *chüan* 36). This means that Hsüeh Tao-heng also was born in Yeh. These five men all resided in Yeh for about

30 to 40 years. Of the eight scholars who participated in the phonological discussions, three represented Chin-ling and five Yeh (Lu Fa-yen himself was the son of Lu Shuang, and was also born in Yeh. His father was a descendant of the Hsien-pi ruler Lu-ku; the history says that he was from Lin-chang in the commandery of Wei; that he after the *T'ien-pao* reign (550–559 A.D.) held office under the Northern Ch'i, and that he entered the Pass [i.e. moved to Ch'ang-an] after the fall of that dynasty. For this see *Sui shu*, *chüan* 58; Lin-chang is identical with Yeh). If we were to consider that these men represented the dialects of eight different areas, we would be mistaken. This is a very important point, since all who quote extensively from the histories speak only of the original homes of their forefathers, without paying attention to the places where they were born and raised, and therefore are unable to appreciate which localities Lu Fa-yen refers to as South and North in his *Preface*. A great many other mistaken notions may arise from a failure to appreciate this point. What Lu Fa-yen refers to when he speaks of South and North is actually the Chiang-tung and the Ho-pei areas. That Chin-ling was the centre of the Chiang-tung area, just as Yeh was the centre of the Ho-pei area, may be determined by an investigation of the localities in which these eight men were born and raised.

It was at the beginning of the *K'ai-huang* reign that these men participated in the phonological discussions. Apart from Liu Chen and Hsiao Kai, who both entered the Pass relatively early, the others did not arrive in Ch'ang-an until after Emperor Wu of Chou had conquered the Northern Ch'i (577 A.D.; see *Pei Ch'i shu*, *chüan* 42, the biography of Yang Hsiu-chih). Having at that time been in Ch'ang-an only three or four years, they would follow their old habits and would therefore, in their deliberations on the differences between South and North, have based themselves on the speech of Chin-ling and Yeh. At the time of these deliberations they repeatedly discussed difficult points. In the end, Lu Fa-yen recorded the principles underlying their judgments. These were the guiding principles on which Lu Fa-yen later based himself when he, in the first year of the *Jen-shou* reign (601 A.D.), compiled the *Ch'ieh-yün*. The *Preface* of the *Ch'ieh-yün* refers explicitly to this.

The concepts and the principles on which Liu Chen, Yen Chih-t'ui, and the others based themselves in their discussions in 581 A.D. are not explained in the *Preface* of the *Ch'ieh-yün*. But in the section on phonetics in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* we can see what notions were held by Yen Chih-t'ui. He there says: "The climate of the South is pleasant and gentle; the sounds are clear, high, penetrating and far-reaching. The fault of the Southern pronunciation lies in its being too shallow; its vocabulary contains many vulgar expressions. In the North the mountain valleys are deep and the rivers broad; the sounds are heavy, muted and dull. The positive qualities of the Northern pronunciation are its solidity and straightness. Its vocabulary contains many archaic expressions. Thus, were educated gentlemen are concerned, the pronunciation of the South is superior; where the common people are concerned, the Northern pronunciation is better. If educated gentlemen and simple commoners of the South were to exchange clothes, their different social

status would be found out in the shortest conversation. But if one were to listen from behind a wall to a conversation between a Northern aristocrat and a rustic commoner, a whole day's listening would hardly suffice to distinguish between them. The language of the South has been coloured by the dialects of Wu and Yüeh, while the language of the North has been mixed with barbarian tongues. These grave defects of the speech of the South and the North will not be discussed in detail here".

This statement refers to both pronunciation and vocabulary: the Southern pronunciation is clear and distinct, while the Northern pronunciation is muted and dull. Southerners use many vulgar expressions, while the speech of Northerners conforms to the correct written standard. The term "many vulgar expressions" refers to rustic dialectal idioms; by "many archaic expressions" is meant items of received literary vocabulary. This statement refers to the overall situation. Speaking of distinction between the upper and the lower classes Yen Chih-t'ui suggests that Northern speech is more uniform, while the differences between the social classes in the South are very great: the lower classes of the South spoke the Wu dialect, while the upper classes mostly adhered to the Northern speech (For details see Ch'en Yin-ko, "Tung Chin Nan-ch'ao chih Wu-yin" ("A historical study of the Wu dialect circa 317-589 A.D."), CYYY 7, Part I. (1936), 1-4). Comparing the speech of the upper classes in the North and the South, Yen Chih-t'ui finds the Southern idiom superior to that of the North. In reaching this verdict Yen Chih-t'ui must have considered whether the vocabulary was "pure and elegant", and whether the pronunciation was conforming to the correct standard. The biography of Lu Kuang (*Liang shu*, *chüan* 48) says: "Already in his youth Lu Kuang had a clear understanding of the classics and had become well versed in Confucian scholarship. In the *T'ien-chien* reign (502-519 A.D.) he returned to his state [i.e. the Liang]. Among the Confucian scholars who at that time had arrived there from the North were Ts'ui Ling-en, Sun Hsiang, and Chiang Hsien, who all gathered followers to whom they lectured. Their pronunciation and idiom were of a mean order; only the discourses of Lu Kuang were pure and elegant, thus differing from those of the other Northern scholars". In the section on phonetics of the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* Yen Chih-t'ui says: "Since I arrived in Yeh I have met only four persons—namely Ts'ui Tzu-yüeh, his cousin Ts'ui Shan, Li Tsu-jen and his brother Li Wei—who paid attention to diction, and who, at least to some extent, adhered to the correct norm [of pronunciation]". This shows that the speech of Northerners generally contained a mixture of dialect forms, and that Northerners, unlike the aristocrats of the South, paid insufficient attention to their pronunciation. In the same section of his work Yen Chih-t'ui also points out some of the differences in pronunciation between North and South: "As to their failure to observe minute distinctions, Southerners pronounce (44) /dzjän/ like (45) /zjän/, (33) /zjäk/ [Archaic /djäk/] as (46) /dz'ja-/ [Archaic /d'jäg/]; they pronounce (47) /dz'jän/ like (48) /zjän-/; and (49) /ziě:/ like (50) /dz'iě:/; Northerners pronounce (51) /šjwo-/ like (52) /šju-/; (53) /ňzjwo/ like (54) /ňzju/; (55) /tsiě:/ like (56) /tsi:/; and (57) /γǎp/ like (58) /γap/. Mistakes such as these are often made by both parties". Here it has been clearly



pointed out that, as far as initials are concerned, Southerners failed to make a distinction between */dz'/'* and */z/*, and between */dž'/'* and */ž/*. As regards the rimes, Northerners failed to distinguish between 87. */iwo/* and 88. */i'u/*, 7. */jiě/* and 4. */ji/*, and between 27. */ǎp/* and 28. */ap/*. Yen Chih-t'ui considered both the North and the South in the wrong. In all these instances Lu Fa-yen's classification, as presented in the *Ch'ieh-yün*, entirely agrees with that of Yen Chih-t'ui, which indicates that the *Ch'ieh-yün* was not solely based on the pronunciation of the South nor solely on that of the North. Ch'en Yin-ko says: "It is therefore clear that the phonological system of the *Ch'ieh-yün* is not based on any individual dialect of that time". This statement agrees with the records of that period.

We must now turn to the diachronic problem, on which Yen Chih-t'ui in the section on phonetics of his *Yen-shih chia-hsün* says as follows: "Language changes with times and with customs; writers adhere to their different dialects. The *Ts'ang Chieh hsün-ku* [this work, by Tu Lin of the Latter Han, is recorded in the bibliographical chapter of the *Chiu T'ang shu*] gives the *fan-ch'ieh* spelling (59) */puo-mai-/* for (60) */b'ai-/*, and the spelling (61) */iwo-kwǎi/* for (62). In a gloss on the *Chan-kuo ts'ê* the pronunciation of (63) */mjuən/* is equated with that of (64) */mǎn:/*. In a gloss on the *Mu T'ien-tzu chuan* (65) */kan-/* is equated with (66) */kǎn-/*; the *Shuo wen* reads (67) */kāt/* as (68) */kiək/*, and pronounces (69) */mjuwng:/* as (70) */mwng-/*. The *Tzu-lin* gives the spelling (71) */k'zu-kām/* for (72) */k'án/*, and equates the pronunciations of (73) */šjǎn/* and (74) */sjǎn/*. The *Yün-chi* combines (26) */žjǎng/*, (27) */ńžjǎng/*, (28) */ɣweng/* and (29) */tǎng/* into two rimes, and establishes a separate category for each of the four forms (30) */juwǐě/*, (31) */g'jiě/*, (32) */iǎk/* and (33) */žjǎk/*. The *Sheng-lei* by Li Teng equates (75) */ɣiei-/* and (76) */ngiei-/*. Liu Ch'ang-tsung's *Chou-kuan yin* reads (77) */dz'ǎng/* as (78) */žjǎng/*. Examples such as these are widely found and must needs be collated.

Many of the earlier *fan-ch'ieh* spellings are also incorrect. Hsü Hsien-min, in his *Mao-shih yin*, spells (79) */dž'jǎu-/* as (80) */dž'i:-kǎu-/* [Chou Tsu-mo notes that the original text has (81) for (82)]; in the *Tso-chuan yin* (83) */d'jǎwǎn/* is spelled as (84) */d'uo-iwǎn/*. Such spellings, which cannot be trusted, occur in great numbers. Even modern scholars have faulty pronunciations. Why, then, should we be obliged to follow the mistaken pronunciations of earlier scholars for the sole reason that they belong to the past? The *T'ung-su wen* says: "to enter a house to search it" is called (85) */sjǎu/*, which is spelled as (86) */ɣiwǎng-ɣǎu/*. If this spelling were correct (87) */ɣiwǎng/* would have to be spelled (88) */sjwo-jǎwǎng/*. This pronunciation is presently found in the common speech of the North, and that is yet another instance of an old form that has to be discarded.

(89) *Yu-fan* is the name of a precious jade of Lu; it ought to be pronounced as (90) */iwo-b'jǎwǎn/*, but in the South the second syllable is always pronounced as (91) */pǎwǎn/*. The first syllable of the name (92) Ch'i-shan, */g'jiě/*, ought to be pronounced as (31) */g'jiě/*, but in the South it is always pronounced as (93) */tǎiě/* of the expression (94) *shen-chih* ["spirits"]. When the Chiang-ling area was invaded (occurring in the third year of the *Ch'eng-sheng* reign, 554 A.D.) this pronunciation was propagated within the Pass. I do not know what precedent there could be

for these two pronunciations, but I for one have never been apprised of it.

In the Northern speech (95) /k<sub>i</sub>wo:/ (96) /k<sub>i</sub>wo:/ are often pronounced as (97) /k<sub>i</sub>u:/. One exception is Li Chi-chieh, who writes: "Duke Huan of Ch'i and Kuan Chung stood on a tower and planned an attack on the state of (96) Chü. Tung-kuo Ya saw from a distance that Duke Huan's mouth opened without closing [tight]. From this he knew that Duke Huan was speaking of Chü. It follows that (96) /k<sub>i</sub>wo:/ and (97) /k<sub>i</sub>u:/ cannot have been pronounced in the same way." This shows an expert knowledge of phonetics.

In the Ho-pei area the word (98) /kung/ is spelled (99) /kuo-dz'uong/, and thus treated as different from (100), (101), and (102) /kung/. This is indeed a vulgar mistake".

From these remarks we gain an understanding of Yen Chih-t'ui's views on the pronunciation of the past and the present. He was of the opinion that "language changes with times and customs, and that, as far as reading pronunciations were concerned, writers adhered to the Southern the Northern tongue, as the case may be. Such readings and *fan-ch'ieh* spellings of earlier texts as were faulty and did not agree with the pronunciation of his time should be discarded. This attitude of his is well described in the following dictum: "Why, then, should we be obliged to follow the mistaken pronunciations of earlier scholars, for the sole reason that they belong to the past?". In this regard he was certainly not conservative. Secondly whenever a word had more than one pronunciation, he considered the traditional reading, whether belonging to the Southern or the Northern tongue, to be the correct one. Thus (89) ought to be pronounced /iwo-b'iwm/, (103) pronounced /g'jiě/, and (98) /kung/ should be homophonous with (100), (101) and (102) /kung/. The deviating pronunciations of these forms should not be accepted since they lacked precedents. This notion of Yen Chih-t'ui is in conformity with the indication of reading pronunciations in Lu Teh-ming's *Ching-tien shih wen*. In the preface to this work Lu Teh-ming states as follows: "Phonetic glosses differ with the times. Learned writers of the past often failed to follow the pronunciations indicated by the glosses, and the readings of the commentators themselves are not always mutually consistent. In this compilation I have somewhat deliberated over these matters. Such pronunciations as are often found in literary works and are synchronically consistent, and therefore generally accepted, have been placed in the prime position. In the case of characters with variant readings, which may be correlated to differences in meaning, or in the case of characters with more than one reading which have been variously glossed by different commentators, I have taken down all available information and in each instance given the name of the author of the relevant gloss in order to facilitate the reader's discrimination. Expressions such as (104) *huo yin* "sometimes pronounced as", and (105) *yi yin* "according to one source pronounced as" indicate that these forms are of recent origin and lack textual evidence. The reader will have to treat these forms with discrimination".

In the *Ching-tien shih wen* (106) is glossed by (107) /b'iwm/, with the alternative reading /piwm/; (103) has the reading /b'iwm/ and the alternative reading /piwm/. The first readings are exactly the same as those given in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*

(see Chou Tsu-mo, "*Yen-shih chia-hsün yin-tz'u-p'ien chu-pu*", ("Commentary on the chapter on phonetics in the Yen Shih Chia Hsün"), *Fu Jen Hsüeh Chih* 11 (1942), 201-220). Discussing reading pronunciations Lu Teh-ming says: "And again, to treat (29) /təng/ and (108) /sɿəng/ as belonging to one rime, and to distinguish between (98) *kung* and (101) *kung* is probably inappropriate". Lu Teh-ming here agrees with Yen Chih-t'ui in rejecting the pronunciation /kuong/.

From these considerations we conclude that Yen Chih-t'ui laid stress on the present rather than on the past; what he considered valid were the received reading pronunciations current in his time and the phonological categories which actually existed in the language [of the present], and not the ancient readings of the past. With regard to the old readings, he always rejected such as were no longer valid in his time and followed the modern reading. Whenever there were Northern and Southern variants of a modern reading, he decided in favour of the received reading. In the section on phonetics of his *Yen-shih chia hsün* he says: "The children of our family are already from an early age subjected to graded supervision and correction. If one single word be pronounced wrongly, I would consider this my own fault. You all know that in referring to things one must not speak rashly without having consulted books and records". This indicates that he laid stress on reading pronunciations; but this does not imply that he invariably followed the old reading. His guiding principle is similar to that of Lu Teh-ming, who demanded that the readings be "synchronically consistent". In the section on philology of the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* he discusses different styles of writing in the following terms: "Philologists of our time have no true understanding of the historical perspective: they insist on following the small seal, taking that as the norm for their writing. How could the *Erh-ya*, the *San-ts'ang* and the *Shuo wen* in all instances grasp the original intention of Ts'ang Chieh? And furthermore, discrepancies between the three works have resulted from alterations [of the script] during successive generations. How could dictionaries dating from the Western Chin and onwards be considered entirely wrong? One should merely see to it that one's system of writing is consistent and abstain from private innovations. When examining and collating the right and the wrong, *one needs to be especially well informed* [?].

When I first read the *Shuo wen* I had a great contempt for the modern characters. If I wrote the correct forms I would have to fear that others would not recognize them; if I followed the vulgar forms I had to consider that others might reject them as faulty. This would make it impossible for me to write at all. When I gradually gained a wider experience I came to understand the principles of permanence and change. In relieving myself from the bonds of the past, I was yet willing to accept them for one part of my literary activity. In literary composition even minute details which might seem of little consequence have to be properly observed. In official documents and in one's daily correspondence there is fortunately no need to avoid vulgar forms".

"To deeply understand the principles of permanence and change" and "to abstain from private innovations"—these statements reflect an attitude identical with the one which Yen Chih-t'ui applied to his phonological theories. It would therefore

no doubt be wrong to assume that the following statement in Lu Fa-yen's *Preface*—"and so we discussed the right and the wrong of South and North, and the prevailing and the obsolete of past and present"—actually implies that he based himself on the past in order to correct the present, or that he consciously preserved the pronunciation of the past, or that he in some instances preferred an old reading to the modern reading, while he in other instances reversed the process, in absolute disregard of fixed standards. On the basis of what Yen Chih-t'ui says in his section on phonetics in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* we know that they [i.e. the editors of the *Ch'ieh-yün*] took the current pronunciation as their standard. Such phonological distinctions of earlier rime books not conforming with the current pronunciation were decidedly not accepted (as e.g. those of the *Yün-chi*); even such inappropriate distinctions as indicated by earlier *fan-ch'ieh* spellings were discarded. Examples of this are the *fan-ch'ieh* spellings of Hsü Miao which according to Yen Chih-t'ui ought to be examined and collated.

The following statement, which is contained in the *Preface* of the *Ch'ieh-yün*—"wishing to present a more refined and precise standard, we discarded all that was ill-defined and lacked preciseness. The *wai-shih* Yen Chih-t'ui and the *kuo-tzu* Hsiao Kai were responsible for most of these judgments"—is an expression of the demand that the *Ch'ieh-yün* classification strictly conformed to the [linguistic] reality. The *Ch'ieh-yün* classification entirely agrees with the expositions of Yen Chih-t'ui, which shows that the notions of Yen Chih-t'ui have been given full expression in the *Ch'ieh-yün*. In order to understand the nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün* it is therefore imperative that Yen Chih-t'ui's statements be taken into account. Hsiao Kai's notions would probably be identical with those of Yen Chih-t'ui. His *Han-shu yin-yi* has long been lost. The fragments of this work which were collected by Ch'ing scholars are rather scanty and can be left out of the discussion.

On the basis of what has been said above we have arrived at a clearer appreciation of the nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün*. In summing up we conclude that the *Ch'ieh-yün* is a rime dictionary aiming at providing the correct norm of pronunciation, and that it was compiled on the basis of the decisions which were arrived at during the discussions of Liu Chen, Yen Chih-t'ui, and their colleagues, after the consultation of earlier rime books and dictionaries. While its phonological system was determined on the basis of the educated speech of Chin-ling and Yeh, attention was also given to current reading pronunciations. Since it does not give sole emphasis to the speech of the North, nor to that of the South, it cannot be considered to be a record of any one dialect restricted to a particular area. Previously it has been suggested that the *Ch'ieh-yün* represented the pronunciation of Ch'ang-an in the Sui period, but that is a mistake. This point has already been discussed in a very lucid manner in an article by Ch'en Yin-ko.

1 支 2 脂 3 魚 4 虞 5 先 6 仙 7 尤 8 侯 9 清  
 10 濁 11 輕 12 重 13 淺 14 傍紐 15 正紐 16 口賦 17 籠脣  
 18 開齒 19 赫連屈子 20 屈巧 21 字文泰 22 黑獺 23 狡獪  
 24 狡剗 25 宮商絳徵羽 26 成 27 仍 28 宏 29 登 30 為  
 31 奇 32 益 33 石 34 蔑 35 亡成 36 莫耕 37 支 38 魚  
 39 鐸 40 錫 41 益 42 一高 43 高 44 錢 45 涎 46 射 47 賤  
 48 美 49 是 50 紙 51 庶 52 成 53 如 54 儒 55 紫 56 妙  
 57 洽 58 狎 59 逋賁 60 梓 61 於乖 62 娃 63 刳 64 免  
 65 諫 66 間 67 憂 68 棘 69 血 70 孟 71 口甘 72 看 73 仲  
 74 辛 75 絳 76 羿 77 乘 78 承 79 驟 80 仕進 81 在 82  
 仕 83 椽 84 狹緣 85 搜 86 兄侯 87 兄 88 所榮 89 璵璠  
 90 餘煩 91 藩 92 岐山 93 祇 94 神祇 95 舉 96 苦 97 矩  
 98 攻 99 古琮 100 工 101 公 102 功 103 岐 104 或音 105 一音  
 106 璠 107 煩 108 升

## II

The principles underlying the *Ch'ieh-yün* selection of phonological features of the North and the South, and the deliberations motivating its deviation from the five rime books mentioned in the *Preface* require further investigation.

We may begin with an examination of the five rime books. While all these works were lost already a long time ago, we may get an approximate understanding of their rime categorizations through the notes appended to the table of rimes included in Wang Jen-hsü's *K'an miu pu ch'ueh Ch'ieh-yün*. Of all the rime books dating from the T'ang period which are still extant either in manuscript or in printed versions, only Wang Jen-hsü's *Ch'ieh-yün* contains these notes (See Chou Tsu-mo, "T'ang Wu-tai yün-shu chi ts'un" [On fragments of rime books from the T'ang and the Wu-tai periods]).

The transmitted versions of Lu Fa-yen's, Chang-sun No-yen's, and Sun Mien's works all lack these notes. Therefore we may conclude that these notes were added by Wang Jen-hsü, and that they did not obtain in Lu Fa-yen's original work. However, some scholars are of the opinion that these notes were included in Lu Fa-yen's work. Thus the phrase (1)—"there is no *shang-sheng* rime corresponding to the *p'ing-sheng* rime *tung*"—is found in Wang Jen-hsü's notes, where it is said to be a quotation from Lu Fa-yen's work. It is difficult to find a definite solution of this problem. For if it be argued that these notes did not obtain in Lu Fa-yen's original work, what need would there then be for Wang Jen-hsü to add them when

he published his corrected edition of that work in the *Chung-tsung* period of the T'ang (705–709 A.D.), when Lu Fa-yen's work had flourished already a long time, while the five rime books had gradually fallen into decline and become superseded? If it be argued that these notes did obtain in Lu Fa-yen's original work, why, then, is no single trace of them to be found in the transmitted versions of Lu Fa-yen's and Chang-sun No-yen's works? It is, of course, open to us to suggest that most of the transmitted versions were copied down relatively late, and that those that were copied down at a relatively early date all lacked rime headings, which is why no trace is found of the notes. However, since it is difficult to provide a definite solution to this problem, we had better leave the question open. What we have to consider is whether the material is important or not, since its value in no way depends on who the author may be. And we may positively claim that these notes are extremely useful. (This has already been pointed out by Huang Ts'ui-po, in his article "Kuan-yü *Ch'ieh-yün* yin-hsi chi-ch'u ti wen-t'i" [On the problem concerning the foundation of the *Ch'ieh-yün* phonological system], *Zhongguo Yuwen* 2 (1962), 85–90). Not only will these notes help us to appreciate the relation between the *Ch'ieh-yün* and the earlier rime books, but also afford us an approximate knowledge of the phonology of the South and the North in the post-Chin periods of the Ch'i and the Liang, which, of course, is of even greater importance.

Presently there exists three different manuscript versions—written at different times—of the T'ang edition of Wang Jen-hsü's *Ch'ieh-yün*, containing notes appended to the table of rimes. These are

- I. the *K'an miu pu ch'üeh Ch'ieh-yün*, compiled by Wang Jen-hsü and containing a colophon by Hsiang Yüan-pien of the Ming, and the notice 'with comments and notes by Chang-sun No-yen, and with character corrections by Pei Wu-ch'i';
- II. The Tun-huang manuscript of the *K'an miu pu ch'üeh Ch'ieh-yün*, compiled by Wang Jen-hsü. This work has been copied into the *Tun-huang to-so* [Fragments collected from Tun-huang];
- III. The *K'an miu pu ch'üeh Ch'ieh-yün*, compiled by Wang Jen-hsü, and containing a colophon by Sung Lien of the Ming.

The first manuscript contains notes only to part of the *p'ing-sheng* rimes; the second manuscript lacks notes to the *p'ing-sheng* rimes; the third manuscript which is the most complete one contains a number of omissions and mistakes, which however may be collated against the second manuscript. The results of a collation of the three manuscripts are set out in the following table. (The order of the rimes is that of the second and third manuscript of Wang Jen-hsü's work; the *ju-sheng* rimes are grouped together with the corresponding *p'ing-shang*, and *ch'ü-sheng* rimes, and their relative order is therefore not exactly that of the original; notes placed within parentheses are found only in the second manuscript).

These notes which are appended to the table of rimes are of course neither very detailed, nor complete. Thus under each rime we lack reference to each and every rime book, and in a number of cases the information concerning the division of rimes is not sufficiently clear (as in the case of the four rimes 70. */vng/*, 71. */eng/*,

平 声	上 声	去 声	入 声
<p>1东</p> <p>2冬 无上声。阳与鍾江同韵，吕夏侯别，今依吕夏侯。</p> <p>3鍾</p> <p>4江</p> <p>5支</p> <p>6脂 吕夏侯与之微大乱杂，阳李杜别，今依阳李杜。</p> <p>7之</p> <p>8微</p> <p>9魚</p> <p>10虞</p> <p>11模</p> <p>12齐</p>	<p>1董 吕与肿同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>2肿</p> <p>3讲</p> <p>4紙</p> <p>5旨 夏侯与止为疑，吕阳李杜别，今依吕阳李杜。</p> <p>6止</p> <p>7尾</p> <p>8語 吕与麌同，夏侯阳李杜别，今依夏侯阳李杜。</p> <p>9麌</p> <p>10姥</p> <p>11薺</p>	<p>1送</p> <p>2宋 阳与用絳同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>3用</p> <p>4絳</p> <p>5寘</p> <p>6至 夏侯与志同，阳李杜别，今依阳李杜。</p> <p>7志</p> <p>8未</p> <p>9御</p> <p>10遇</p> <p>11暮</p> <p>12泰 无平上声。</p> <p>13霽 李杜与祭同，吕别，今依吕。</p>	<p>(韵目排列与原来次不尽同)</p> <p>1屋</p> <p>2沃 阳与烛同，吕夏侯别，今依吕夏侯。</p> <p>3烛</p> <p>4觉</p>

he published his corrected edition of that work in the *Chung-tsung* period of the T'ang (705–709 A.D.), when Lu Fa-yen's work had flourished already a long time, while the five rime books had gradually fallen into decline and become superseded? If it be argued that these notes did obtain in Lu Fa-yen's original work, why, then, is no single trace of them to be found in the transmitted versions of Lu Fa-yen's and Chang-sun No-yen's works? It is, of course, open to us to suggest that most of the transmitted versions were copied down relatively late, and that those that were copied down at a relatively early date all lacked rime headings, which is why no trace is found of the notes. However, since it is difficult to provide a definite solution to this problem, we had better leave the question open. What we have to consider is whether the material is important or not, since its value in no way depends on who the author may be. And we may positively claim that these notes are extremely useful. (This has already been pointed out by Huang Ts'ui-po, in his article "Kuan-yü *Ch'ieh-yün* yin-hsi chi-ch'u ti wen-t'i" [On the problem concerning the foundation of the *Ch'ieh-yün* phonological system], *Zhongguo Yuwen* 2 (1962), 85–90). Not only will these notes help us to appreciate the relation between the *Ch'ieh-yün* and the earlier rime books, but also afford us an approximate knowledge of the phonology of the South and the North in the post-Chin periods of the Ch'i and the Liang, which, of course, is of even greater importance.

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The first manuscript contains notes only to part of the *p'ing-sheng* rimes; the second manuscript lacks notes to the *p'ing-sheng* rimes; the third manuscript which is the most complete one contains a number of omissions and mistakes, which however may be collated against the second manuscript. The results of a collation of the three manuscripts are set out in the following table. (The order of the rimes is that of the second and third manuscript of Wang Jen-hsü's work; the *ju-sheng* rimes are grouped together with the corresponding *p'ing-shang*, and *ch'u-sheng* rimes, and their relative order is therefore not exactly that of the original; notes placed within parentheses are found only in the second manuscript).

These notes which are appended to the table of rimes are of course neither very detailed, nor complete. Thus under each rime we lack reference to each and every rime book, and in a number of cases the information concerning the division of rimes is not sufficiently clear (as in the case of the four rimes 70. */vng/*, 71. */eng/*,



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<p>1东</p> <p>2冬 无上声。阳与鍾江同韵，吕夏侯别，今依吕夏侯。</p> <p>3鍾</p> <p>4江</p> <p>5支</p> <p>6脂 吕夏侯与之微大乱杂，阳李杜别，今依阳李杜。</p> <p>7之</p> <p>8微</p> <p>9魚</p> <p>10虞</p> <p>11模</p> <p>12齐</p>	<p>1董 吕与肿同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>2肿</p> <p>3讲</p> <p>4紙</p> <p>5旨 夏侯与止为疑，吕阳李杜别，今依吕阳李杜。</p> <p>6止</p> <p>7尾</p> <p>8語 吕与麌同，夏侯阳李杜别，今依夏侯阳李杜。</p> <p>9麌</p> <p>10姥</p> <p>11荠</p>	<p>1送</p> <p>2宋 阳与用絳同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>3用</p> <p>4絳</p> <p>5寘</p> <p>6至 夏侯与志同，阳李杜别，今依阳李杜。</p> <p>7志</p> <p>8未</p> <p>9御</p> <p>10遇</p> <p>11暮</p> <p>12泰 无平上声。</p> <p>13霽 李杜与祭同，吕别，今依吕。</p>	<p>(韵目排列与原次不尽同)</p> <p>1屋</p> <p>2沃 阳与烛同，吕夏侯别，今依吕夏侯。</p> <p>3烛</p> <p>4觉</p>

he published his corrected edition of that work in the *Chung-tsung* period of the T'ang (705–709 A.D.), when Lu Fa-yen's work had flourished already a long time, while the five rime books had gradually fallen into decline and become superseded? If it be argued that these notes did obtain in Lu Fa-yen's original work, why, then, is no single trace of them to be found in the transmitted versions of Lu Fa-yen's and Chang-sun No-yen's works? It is, of course, open to us to suggest that most of the transmitted versions were copied down relatively late, and that those that were copied down at a relatively early date all lacked rime headings, which is why no trace is found of the notes. However, since it is difficult to provide a definite solution to this problem, we had better leave the question open. What we have to consider is whether the material is important or not, since its value in no way depends on who the author may be. And we may positively claim that these notes are extremely useful. (This has already been pointed out by Huang Ts'ui-po, in his article "Kuan-yü *Ch'ieh-yün* yin-hsi chi-ch'u ti wen-t'i" [On the problem concerning the foundation of the *Ch'ieh-yün* phonological system], *Zhongguo Yuwen* 2 (1962), 85–90). Not only will these notes help us to appreciate the relation between the *Ch'ieh-yün* and the earlier rime books, but also afford us an approximate knowledge of the phonology of the South and the North in the post-Chin periods of the Ch'i and the Liang, which, of course, is of even greater importance.

Presently there exists three different manuscript versions—written at different times—of the T'ang edition of Wang Jen-hsü's *Ch'ieh-yün*, containing notes appended to the table of rimes. These are

- I. the *K'an miu pu ch'üeh Ch'ieh-yün*, compiled by Wang Jen-hsü and containing a colophon by Hsiang Yüan-pien of the Ming, and the notice 'with comments and notes by Chang-sun No-yen, and with character corrections by Pei Wu-ch'i';
- II. The Tun-huang manuscript of the *K'an miu pu ch'üeh Ch'ieh-yün*, compiled by Wang Jen-hsü. This work has been copied into the *Tun-huang to-so* [Fragments collected from Tun-huang];
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These notes which are appended to the table of rimes are of course neither very detailed, nor complete. Thus under each rime we lack reference to each and every rime book, and in a number of cases the information concerning the division of rimes is not sufficiently clear (as in the case of the four rimes 70. */vng/*, 71. */eng/*,

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<p>1东</p> <p>2冬 无上声。阳与鍾江同韵，吕夏侯别，今依吕夏侯。</p> <p>3鍾</p> <p>4江</p> <p>5支</p> <p>6脂 吕夏侯与之微大乱杂，阳李杜别，今依阳李杜。</p> <p>7之</p> <p>8微</p> <p>9魚</p> <p>10虞</p> <p>11模</p> <p>12齐</p>	<p>1董 吕与肿同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>2肿</p> <p>3讲</p> <p>4紙</p> <p>5旨 夏侯与止为疑，吕阳李杜别，今依吕阳李杜。</p> <p>6止</p> <p>7尾</p> <p>8語 吕与麌同，夏侯阳李杜别，今依夏侯阳李杜。</p> <p>9麌</p> <p>10姥</p> <p>11荠</p>	<p>1送</p> <p>2宋 阳与用絳同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>3用</p> <p>4絳</p> <p>5寘</p> <p>6至 夏侯与志同，阳李杜别，今依阳李杜。</p> <p>7志</p> <p>8未</p> <p>9御</p> <p>10遇</p> <p>11暮</p> <p>12泰 无平上声。</p> <p>13霽 李杜与祭同，吕别，今依吕。</p>	<p>(韵目排列与原次不尽同)</p> <p>1屋</p> <p>2沃 阳与烛同，吕夏侯别，今依吕夏侯。</p> <p>3烛</p> <p>4觉</p>

平 声	上 声	去 声	入 声
<p>13佳</p> <p>14皆 吕阳与齐同，夏侯杜别，今依夏侯杜。</p> <p>15灰 夏侯阳杜与咍同，吕别，今依吕。</p> <p>16哈</p> <p>17真 吕与文同，夏侯阳杜别，今依夏侯阳杜。</p> <p>18臻 无上声。吕阳杜与真同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>19文</p> <p>20殷 阳杜与文同，夏侯与臻同，今并别。</p> <p>21元 阳夏侯杜与魂同，吕别，今依吕。</p>	<p>12蟹 李与駭同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>13駭</p> <p>14賄 李与海同，夏侯为疑，吕别，今依吕。</p> <p>15海</p> <p>16軫</p> <p>17吻</p> <p>18隱 吕与吻同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>19阮 夏侯阳杜与混俱同，吕别，今依吕。</p>	<p>14祭 无平上声。</p> <p>15卦</p> <p>16怪 (夏侯与泰同，杜别，今依杜。)</p> <p>17夬 无平上声。李与怪同，吕别与会同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。</p> <p>18队 李与代同，夏侯为疑，吕别，今依吕。</p> <p>19代</p> <p>20废 无平上声。夏侯与队同，吕别，今依吕。</p> <p>21震</p> <p>22問</p> <p>23愀</p> <p>24願 夏侯与愿别，与恨同，今并别。</p>	<p>5质</p> <p>6櫛 吕夏侯与质同，今别。</p> <p>7物</p> <p>8迄 夏侯与质同，吕别，今依吕。</p> <p>9月 夏侯与没同，吕别，今依吕。</p>

平 声	上 声	去 声	入 声
22魂 吕阳夏侯与痕同，今别。	20混	25愿 吕李与恨同，今并别。	10沒
23痕	21俱	26恨	11末
24寒	22旱	27翰	12黠
25刪 李与山同，吕夏侯阳别，今依吕夏侯阳。	23产 吕与旱同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。	28諫 李与禰同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。	13鎋
26山 阳与先仙同，夏侯杜别，今依夏侯杜。	24潜 阳与銑黠同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。	29禰	14屑 李夏侯与薛同，吕别，今依吕。
27先 夏侯阳杜与山同，吕别，今依吕。	25統 夏侯阳杜与黠同，吕别，今依吕。	30霰 夏侯阳杜与禊同，吕别，今依吕。	15薛
28仙	26黠	31線	
29萧	27篠 李夏侯与小同，吕杜别，今依吕杜。	32嘯 (阳李夏侯与笑同，夏侯(?)与效同，吕杜并别，今依吕杜。)	
30霄	28小	33笑	
31肴 阳与萧宵同，夏侯杜别，今依夏侯杜。	29巧 吕与皓同，阳与篠小同，夏侯并别，今依夏侯。	34効 (阳与嘯笑同，夏侯杜别，今依夏侯杜。)	
32豪	30皓	35号	
33歌	31哿	36箇 吕与禡同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。	
34麻	32馬	37禡	
35覃	33感	38勘	20合
36談 吕与銜同，阳夏侯别，今依阳夏侯。	34敢 吕与檻同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。	39闕	21盍 (□□同，夏侯□□□夏侯。)

平 声	上 声	去 声	入 声
37阳 吕杜与唐同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。	35养 夏侯在平声阳唐、入声药鐸并别，上声养蕩为疑，吕与蕩同，今别。	40漾 夏侯在平声阳唐、入声药鐸并别，去声漾宕为疑，吕与宕同，今并别。	27药（吕杜与鐸同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。）
38唐	36蕩	41宕	28鐸
39庚	37梗 夏侯与靖同，吕别，今依吕。	42敬 吕与静劲径同，夏侯与劲同，与静径别，今并别。	19陌
40耕	38耿 李杜与梗迥同，吕与靖迥同，与梗别，夏侯与梗靖迥并别，今依夏侯。	43静	18麦
41清	39静 吕与迥同，夏侯别，今依夏侯。	44劲	17昔 [注 残 损，不可辨。]
42青	40迥	45径	16锡 李与昔同，夏侯与陌同，吕与昔别，与麦同，今并别。
43尤 夏侯杜与侯同，吕别，今依吕。	41有 李与厚同，夏侯为疑，吕别，今依吕。	46宥 吕李与侯同，夏侯为疑，今别。	
44侯	42厚	47候	
45幽	43黝	48幼 杜与宥同，吕夏侯别，今依吕夏侯。	
46侵	44寢	49沁	26緝
47盐	45琰 吕与忝范赚同，夏侯与范	50黠 吕与梵同，夏侯与榛同，今	24葉 吕与沾洽同，今别。

平	上	去	入
	臻別，与忝同。 今并別。	并別。	
48添	46忝	51榛	25沾
49蒸	47拯 无韵，取蒸之 上声。	52証	29职
50登	48等	53燈	30德
51咸 李与銜同，夏 侯別，今依夏 侯。	49賺 李与檻同，夏 侯別，今依夏 侯。	54陷 李与鎭同，夏 侯別，今依夏 侯。	22洽 李与狎同，吕 夏侯別，今依 吕夏侯。
52銜	50檻	55鑑	23狎
53严	51广 陆无此韵目， 失。	56严 陆无此韵目， 失。	31业
54凡	52范 陆无反，取凡 之上声，失。	57梵	32乏 吕与业同，夏 侯与合（？） 同，今并別。

附注：(1)韵目全依王仁昫书第二种、第三种写本。

(2)入声韵目取其与平上去相应，排列次序与原来次序不尽相同，可参看韵目上数字。

(3)注文加（ ）号的表示只见于第二种写本。

72. /iǎng/ and 73. /ieng/); for some rimes we lack information altogether (as in the case of the four rimes 89. /áu/, 17. /âm/, 67. /iǣng/, and 66. /æng/). Furthermore, the rime categories and the scope of the earlier rime books were probably not wholly identical. In these notes the comparison with the various early rime books is based on the rime divisions of the *Ch'ieh-yün* itself, and this may no doubt lead to a certain lack of precision in the correspondances. This table must therefore be treated only as a general outline.

Of the five works Lü Ching's *Yün-chi* is hardest to understand. According to the notes in Wang Jen-hsü's work Lü Ching appears to treat 80. /ung/, 81. /uong/, and 78. /ang/ as separate rimes, while he utterly fails to uphold the distinctions between 4. /ji/, 5. /jì/, and 6. /jěi/. These features conform to the phonological stage of the period following the Liu-Sung and the Ch'i. At the same time we find no reference, in Wang Jen-hsü's notes, to Yen Chih-t'ui's statement that the *Yün-chi* "combined (2) /ziǎng/, (3) /níziǣng/, (4) /yweng/, and (5) /təng/ into two rimes". The notes concerning Lü Ching's rime divisions also differ rather greatly from the pronunciations given in the *Tzu-lín*, which was written by Lü Ching's elder brother

Lü Ch'en. It is not without good reason that Mr. Chiang Liang-fu has expressed a doubt that the *Yün-chi*, on which Lu Fa-yen based himself, was written by a man of the Chin period (see his *Ying-ya Tun-huang yün-chi*). There are frequent instances of men of the past having identical names; cases where the name of an original author has been retained in later augmented and altered editions are also very numerous. It is therefore highly doubtful whether the work referred to in Wang Jen-hsü's notes is in fact the *Yün-chi* by Lü Ching of the Chin period. But in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* the *Yün-chi* and the *Tzu-lin* are often referred to together. If the *Yün-chi*, which is quoted by Yen-chih-t'ui, is the work of Lü Ching of the Chin period, then Lu Fa-yen must be referring to the same work. It is hard to arrive at firm conclusions about such distant matters. If the notes in Wang Jen-hsü's work in fact refers to the book by Lü Ching of the Chin, then the references in these notes to Lü Ching's rime correspondances must be regarded as merely explanatory notes based on the rime categories as defined in the *Ch'ieh-yün*. For the original work of Lü Ching did not necessarily contain rime headings; even if it did contain such headings, these would not necessarily be exactly the same as those of the *Ch'ieh-yün*.

Basing our comparison between the *Ch'ieh-yün* and the five earlier rime books on these notes we gain the following information:

(I) Utilizing the terminology of classificatory phonetics [(6) *teng-yün-hsüeh*] we find that Lü Ching generally treats syllables of division I and division III, within one and the same rime group [(7) *she*], as separate rimes. The only exceptions are 63. */i̯ang/* and 62. */äng/*, which are not distinguished, and the *ch'u-sheng* rimes 1. */ä-/* and 3. */a-/*, which are treated as one rime. In Hsia-hou Kai's work rimes of division I and division III are mostly kept apart, with the exception of the pairs 40. */i̯əm/* and 50. */uən/*, and 94a. */i̯əu/* and 93. */əu/*, which are treated as single entities. In this regard the works of Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh, and Tu T'ai-ch'ing differ rather widely one from the other. The *Ch'ieh-yün*, in all instances, follows the principle of dividing, rather than combining.

(II) Within one and the same rime group rimes of division III and division IV are generally kept apart in Lü Ching's work. Distinctions are thus upheld between the *ch'u-sheng* rimes 16. */iei-/* and 14. */i̯äi-/*, between 41. */ien/* and 39. */i̯än/*, 92. */ieu/* and 91. */i̯äu/*, and between 94a. */i̯əu-/* and 94b. */i̯ëu-/*. A certain lack of uniformity in this regard obtains in the fact that the *shang-sheng* rimes 21. */i̯äm:/* and 24. */iem:/*, 72. */i̯äng:/* and 73. */i̯eng:/* are treated respectively as one rime. The other four rime books generally do not distinguish between rimes of division III and division IV; the only exception being Tu T'ai-ch'ing's work, which treats 92. */ieu/* and 91. */i̯äu/* as separate rimes. The *Ch'ieh-yün* upholds the distinction in all instances.

(III) The duplicated division II rimes, which the *Ch'ieh-yün* distinguishes within one and the same rime group, such as 12. */ai/* and 11. */äi/* of the (8) *hsieh* group, 38. */an/* and 37. */än/* of the (9) *shan* group, and 19. */äm/* and 20. */am/* of the (10) *hsien* group, are all kept apart in Hsia-hou Kai's work. In the other works few of these distinctions are strictly upheld. The only examples are the distinctions



between 38. /an/ and 37. /ǎn/, and between 19. /ǎm/ and 20. /am/ in the *Yün-chi*, and the distinction between 38. /an/ and 37. /ǎn/ in Yang Hsiu-chih's *Yün-lueh*. We lack information about Tu T'ai-ch'ing's work. The *Ch'ieh-yün* in all instances follows Hsia-hou Kai.

(iv) The independent division II rimes of the *Ch'ieh-yün*, such as 78. /ǎng/, 13. /ai-/ , 55. /iɛn/, 90. /au/, and 71. /ɛng/, are all treated as independent rimes in Hsia-hou Kai's work. The other rime books sometimes distinguish, and sometimes fail to distinguish these rimes. The *Ch'ieh-yün* follows Hsia-hou Kai in all instances.

(v) The *Ch'ieh-yün* establishes separate categories for 9. /uäi/ and 8. /äi/, and for 49. /ən/ and 50. /uən/. The *Yün-chi* distinguishes between 9. /uäi/ and 8. /äi/, while 49. /ən/ and 50. /uən/ are treated as one rime. In the other four works these pairs are treated respectively as one rime. The *Ch'ieh-yün* distinction between 49. /ən/ and 50. /uən/ appears to be without a precedent.

(vi) As to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 53. /iɛn/, 52. /iuan/, and 51. /iən/ [and the corresponding *shang-sheng*, *ch'ü-sheng* and *ju-sheng* rimes] Lü Ching treats 53. /iɛn/ and 52. /iuan/, and the corresponding *shang-sheng* rimes, respectively as one rime, while the same at time distinguishing between the *ju-sheng* rimes 57. /iɛt/ and 59. /iɛt/. Yang Hsiu-chih and Tu T'ai-ch'ing distinguish between 53. /iɛn/ and 52. /iuan/, but treats 51. /iən/ and 52. /iuan/ as one. Hsia-hou Kai distinguishes between 53. /iɛn/ and 52. /iuan/; 51. /iən/ is also distinguished from 52. /iuan/, but treated as one with 55. /iɛn/. As to the *ju-sheng* rimes Hsia-hou Kai treats 61. /iɛt/, 57. /iɛt/, and 59. /iɛt/ as one rime. In the *Ch'ieh-yün* 53. /iɛn/, 55. /iɛn/, 52. /iuan/, 51. /iən/, 59. /iɛt/, 61. /iɛt/, 57. /iɛt/ and 58. /iɛt/ are each treated as a separate category.

(vii) The *Ch'ieh-yün* distinction between 63. /iang/ and 62. /äng/ is upheld only by Hsia-hou Kai. In the other four rime books they are combined into one rime. The *Ch'ieh-yün* is here identical with Hsia-hou Kai's work.

(viii) The *ch'ü-sheng* rime 10. /äi-/ of the *Ch'ieh-yün* is in the *Yün-chi* combined with 13. /ai-/. Hsia-hou Kai treats 10. /äi-/ and 11. /äi-/ as one rime, while the same rimes are distinguished by Tu T'ai-ch'ing. And again, the *ch'ü-sheng* rime 15. /iɛi-/ [Archaic /iäd/] is in the *Yün-chi* distinguished from 46. /iät/. Hsia-hou Kai treats 15. /iɛi-/ and 9. /uäi-/ as one. No information is obtainable about the treatment of these rimes in the remaining three books. In the *Ch'ieh-yün* these rimes are all clearly distinguished.

(ix) The *Yün-chi* treats the *shang-sheng* rimes 21. /iäm:/, 24. /iem:/, 19. /äm:/ and 23. /iɥm:/ as one rime. Hsia-hou Kai distinguishes 21. /iäm:/ from 19. /äm:/ and 23. /iɥm:/, which implies that also the corresponding *p'ing-sheng* rimes were kept apart. While the *Yün-chi* treats 18. /ám/ and 20. /am/ as one rime, these rimes are not kept apart by Hsia-hou Kai. The *Ch'ieh-yün* makes distinction in all these cases.

From what has been adduced above it is clear that the division of rimes in the *Ch'ieh-yün* primarily was based on the five earlier rime books, while the author of the *Ch'ieh-yün* at the same time introduced certain adjustments to his system, which had as a result that the rime categories of the *Ch'ieh-yün* are more numerous

than those of any of the earlier works. And furthermore, the arrangement of the rimes of the four tones in corresponding sequences resulted in a systematic order which greatly surpassed that of the earlier works. Among the five authors the finest phonological distinctions were made by Lü Ching and Hsia-hou Kai. The most outstanding feature of Hsia-hou Kai's work is that all division II rimes were established as separate categories; the most outstanding feature of Lü Ching's work is that, within one and the same rime group, a distinction was generally made between rimes of division III and division IV (the only exceptions are 72. /*ǣng*/ and 73. /*ieng*/, together with 21. /*ǣm*/ and 24. /*iem*/, which pairs are treated respectively as one rime). In these respects these two works are more detailed than the works of Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing. The latter three authors distinguish between the rimes 4. /*ji*/, 5. /*ji*/ and 6. /*jěi*/, distinctions which are not upheld by Lü Ching and Hsia-hou Kai. Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh, and Tu T'ai-ch'ing all served as officials in the Northern Ch'i. The lack of uniformity in their respective classifications must to a great extent be due to their different principles of classification and to the varying degrees of precision in their phonetic analysis. Of the three scholars, Yang Hsiu-chih uses the broadest rime classification. Unlike Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing he treats 81. /*uon*/, 82. /*ǣwong*/, 78. /*ǣng*/; 37. /*ǣn*/, 41. /*ien*/, 39. /*ǣn*/, and 90. /*au*/, 92. /*ieu*/ and 91. /*ǣu*/ respectively as one rime. This is the reason why Yen Chih-t'ui criticizes him for negligence and for lack of refinement. The classifications of Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing are close one to the other. The facts that both treat the pairs 9. /*uǣi*/ and 8. /*ǣi*/; 51. /*ǣn*/ and 52. /*ǣu*/; 41. /*ien*/ and 39. /*ǣn*/; and 16. /*iei*/ and 14. /*ǣi*/ respectively as one rime are instances of this. Of the two, Tu T'ai-ch'ing appears to apply somewhat finer distinctions than Li Chi-chieh: while Li treats 92. /*ieu*/ and 91. /*ǣu*/ as one rime, the distinction between them is upheld by Tu. Some division II rimes, which Yang Hsiu-chih classes together with rimes of division III and division IV, are all distinguished by Tu. In treating 37. /*ǣn*/ as separate from 41. /*ien*/ and 39. /*ǣn*/; 90. /*au*/ as separate from 92. /*ieu*/ and 91. /*ǣu*/, and 11. /*ǣi*/ as separate from 16. /*iei*/ Tu's classification resembles that of Hsia-hou Kai. The latter treats 10. /*ǣi*/ and 11. /*ǣi*/ as one rime; Lü Ching treats 10. /*ǣi*/ and 13. /*ai*/ as one rime, but Tu, unlike Lü and Hsia-hou, establishes 10. /*ǣi*/ as a separate category. From this we see that Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing used a finer classification than Yang Hsiu-chih. Although Wang Jen-hsü's notes are rather incomplete, it appears that the larger categories of Li's and Tu's works were not very different from those of the *Ch'ieh-yün*.

Apart from this, the five rime books certainly differed one from the other with regard to their rime classifications, and the categorization within one and the same work was not always consistent. In the works of Lü Ching and Hsia-hou Kai rimes of division I and division III are sometimes divided and sometimes combined in a manner which is not always congruent. The division of the rimes into the four tonal categories also shows a certain lack of congruence. Although Yang Hsiu-chih and Li Chi-chieh use broad classification schemes, their works are on the whole internally consistent. Apart from utilizing the works of Lü Ching and Hsia-

hou Kai, the author of the *Ch'ieh-yün* also consulted the works of Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing. Whenever any of these rime books established a precedent ruling, on the basis of a detailed phonetic analysis, and clearly regulated distinctions of *k'ai-k'ou*, *ho-k'ou* and various vowel qualities, these rulings were in each instance taken over by the *Ch'ieh-yün*. Where the analysis of the earlier rime books lacked in accuracy, the *Ch'ieh-yün* carried the analysis further. The rimes were also made to correspond within the four tonal sequences (it is only the arrangement of the *ju-sheng* rimes that lacks somewhat in this regard). Thus 49. /ən/ and 50. /uən/ were divided into two rimes; 53. /iĕn/, 55. /iɛn/, 51. /iæn/ and 52. /iuan/ were established as four rimes, to which were correlated the corresponding *ju-sheng* rimes 59. /iĕt/, 61. /iɛt/, 57. /iæt/, and 58. /iuæt/. Thus, with full support for each change [that was introduced] the system became clear and distinct. It is this that Chang-sun No-yen refers to in the preface to his annotated edition of the *Ch'ieh-yün*, where he says as follows: "In this work Master Lu has consulted the past and followed up [the phonological development] to the present [in such a way that] nothing can be added".

From this comparison of the *Ch'ieh-yün* and the five rime books we can see that the *Ch'ieh-yün* in its rime classification has accepted the valid points in these rime books, while at the same time it has established a system of its own. The main differences between the *Ch'ieh-yün* and the earlier rime books are as follows:

(I) Following the principle of rather dividing, than combining, rimes, the phonetic analysis of the *Ch'ieh-yün* is more refined [than that of any of the earlier works]. Within one and the same rime group a distinction is made between rimes belonging to division I and those belonging to division III, and between division III and division IV; rimes of division II constitute independent categories. This strict and well organized system is far superior to that of any of the previous rime books. This is a concrete manifestation of the principle of "analysing minutiae and making fine distinctions", which is referred to in the *Preface* of the *Ch'ieh-yün*.

(II) In its phonological analysis the *Ch'ieh-yün* aimed at bridging the differences between South and North, and did not use the Northern pronunciation as its sole standard. The earlier rime books all differed in that they followed Northern or Southern dialects, as the case may be. The fact that Lu Fa-yen, who was a Northerner, yet in a majority of instances accepted the distinctions made in the work by [the Southerner] Hsia-hou Kai, renders his *Ch'ieh-yün* greatly different from each of the earlier works, which took one single dialect as its standard. That Lu Fa-yen, who was well versed in the pronunciation of the North, yet held Hsia-hou Kai's work in high esteem, must have a bearing on the statement made in the *Preface*, according to which "Yen Chih-t'ui and Hsiao Kai were responsible for most of the judgements".

These two points, which may be said to constitute the special features of the *Ch'ieh-yün*, are in complete agreement with what has been said above about the nature of the work. The reason why Lu Fa-yen, in compiling his *Ch'ieh-yün*, applied fine criteria of analysis, and bridged the differences between South and North, was decidedly that he aimed at normalizing pronunciation, and at the same aimed

at facilitating the use of his work for Southerners and Northerners alike. While the phonetics of the South and the North differed, in that distinctions upheld in one area did not obtain in another, the users of the *Ch'ieh-yün* were completely enabled to base themselves on their own dialect, and, comparing its categories with those of the dictionary, to look up the characters according to their pronunciation. No harm was therefore done in applying refined standards of analysis.

This method is obviously not without shortcomings. The major shortcoming obtains in the fact that the *Ch'ieh-yün* does not constitute a record of the pronunciation of any one given region. But if we consider this problem out from the historical premises we find that no other method was available for scholars of that time who wished to compile a rime book, that should preserve the minute distinctions in the language, and at the same time be adapted to the use by both Southerners and Northerners. While the phonological categorizations of the Southern and the Northern rime books differed in exactitude, their main categories were not greatly divergent. Therefore to register features of split, and to leave unregistered features of coalescence, in order to establish subdivisions within the larger categories, would not have any fundamental effect on the overall phonological patterning of the language. This kind of approach, which has a definite historical significance in the development of rime books, is therefore not only perfectly workable, but also fully compatible with the objective facts of the case, and with the actual requirements of the work.

It has been suggested that the phonological system of the *Ch'ieh-yün* is a subjective and artificial construct created at will by Yen Chih-t'ui, Hsiao Kai, Lu Fa-yen, and his friends. This is a misunderstanding that has arisen from a lack of penetrating research and from empty and vain speculation. Firstly, this approach is certainly not a pell-mell compilation; it possesses, as an integral element, a system of rigorous categorization. The word "construct" can certainly not be used in this context. Secondly, from what Yen Chih-t'ui has said about the phonetic differences between the dialects of the South and the North, we know that the phonological system of the *Ch'ieh-yün* was based on actually existing speech. It is therefore incorrect to state that it simply is a subjective and artificial compilation. It is only through a comparison between the work itself, and the spirit in which it was written, and other available materials of various kinds, that we can arrive at a correct understanding of the *Ch'ieh-yün*.

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### III

The question to what extent the *Ch'ieh-yün* diverges from the actual phonetic system of the language of its time, and the question concerning the phonetic base of the *Ch'ieh-yün* system constitute an important problem. Endeavouring to solve

this problem we shall first have to consider the riming in poetry and rimed prose of the periods of Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en. These periods cover altogether 110 years (479-589 A.D.). In the South we have the dynasties of Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en; in the North the dynasties of Northern Wei, Northern Ch'i and Northern Chou. The riming categories of the literature of Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en are on the whole identical, with only minor diachronic differences. In the riming of the Northern dynasties we also find certain diachronic differences, in that the riming of the Northern Wei is close to that of the Liu-Sung period, while the riming of the Northern Ch'i and the Northern Chou is close to that of the Liang.

If we confine our discussion to the periods of Liang and Ch'en, we find that the riming categories of the South and the North are nearly identical. The following table shows the rime categories of the rimed literature of the Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en periods (For further details see *Han Wei Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao yün-pu yen-pien yen-chiu*, Part III).

阳 声 韵	入 声 韵	阴 声 韵
(举平以赅上去)		(举平以赅上去)
1. 东	1. 屋	1. 支
2. { 冬	2. { 沃	2. { 脂
{ 鍾	{ 烛	{ 之
3. 江	3. 觉	3. 微 切韵脂韵追衰雖綬 蕤推等字大都与此 部押韵
4. { 真	4. { 质	4. 魚
{ 臻	{ 櫛	5. { 虞
{ 殷	{ 迄	{ 模
5. 文	5. 物	6. { 泰 (去)
6. { 元	6. { 月	{ 废
{ 魂	{ 沒	7. 齐 (平上)
{ 痕		8. { 霽 (去)
		{ 祭
7. 寒	7. 曷	9. 佳
8. 刪	8. 黠	10. 皆
9. (山)庚信分用	9. 鎋	11. 夬 (去)
10. { 先	10. { 屑	12. { 灰
{ 仙	{ 薛	{ 哈

11. 軍	11. 合	
12. 談	12. (盍)	
13. { 陽 唐	13. { 藥 鐸	13. { 蕭 肴
14. { 庚 耕 清 青	14. { 陌 麥 昔 錫	14. 肴 15. 豪 16. 歌
15. 侵	15. 緝	
16. { 鹽 添	16. { 葉 帖	17. 麻 18. { 尤 侯 函
17. 蒸	17. 職	
18. 登	18. 德	
19. (咸)	19. (洽)	
20. (銜)	20. (狎)	
21. { (嚴) (凡)	21. { 業 乏	

This simplified rime chart has been established on the basis of general riming practices. The *ju-sheng* rimes [ending in *-p*, *-t*, *-k*] have been correlated to the corresponding *yang-sheng* rimes [ending in *-m*, *-n*, *-ng*]. The rime categorization of the *Ch'ieh-yün* agrees on the whole with the rime categories of the Liang and Ch'en periods. The riming of Yen Chih-t'ui, Lu Ssu-tao, and the others, is in general conformity with this table. The *Kuan wo sheng fu* by Yen Chih-t'ui may serve to illustrate this.

The first rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 63. *|iáng/* and 62. *|áng/*: (1) *|mwáng/*, *|kíang/*, *|jǐwang/*, *|mǐwang/*, *|zǐang/*, *|náng/*, *|xwáng/*, *|zǐang/*, *|tsǐang/*, *|xǐang/*, *|mǐwang/*, *|p'ǐwang/*, *|lǐang/*, *|láng/*, *|dz'ǐang/*, *|yáng/*, *|tǐang/*, *|yáng/*, *|iáng/*, *|kwáng/*, *|k'áng/*, *|p'ǐwang/*, *|sǐang/*, *|pǐwang/*, *|sǐang/*, *|tsǐang/*, *|ywáng/*, and *|iáng/*.

The second rimes sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rime 34. *|iəp/*: (2) *|g'ǐəp/*, *|lǐəp/*, *|ǐəp/*, *|lǐəp/*, *|dz'ǐəp/*, *|zǐəp/*, *|ńzǐəp/*, *|k'ǐəp/*, and *|g'ǐəp/*.

The third rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rime 52. *|iuan/*: (3) *|g'ǐuan/*, *|kǐuan/*, *|?/*, and *|jǐuan/*.

The fourth rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rime 46. *|iät/*: (4) *|siwät/*, *|ńziwät/*, *|liät/*, *|siwät/* and *|siwät/*.

The fifth rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 70. *|vng/* and 72. *|iäng/*: (5) *|yvwng/*, *|siäng/*, *|miäng/*, *|svng/*, *|ziäng/*, and *|pǐvwng/*.

The sixth time sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rime 89. /áu:/ (6) /náu:/, /d'áu:/, /sáu:/, /ts'áu:/, /páu:/, /γáu:/, and /láu:/.

The seventh rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 41. /ien/ and 39. /iän:/ (7) /i'wän/, /t'ien/, /nien/, /zi'wän/, /d'iän/, /γiwen/, /-ien/, /jiän/, /γien/, /liän/, /g'iän/, and /si'wän/.

The eighth rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 47. /iət/ and 56. /uət:/ (8) /b'i'wət/, /suət/, /k'uət/, /k'i'wət/, /muət/, /xuət/, and /ngi'wət/.

The ninth rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 63. /i'ang-/ and 62. /áng-:/ (9) /n'zi'ang-/ , /m'i'wang-/ , /p'wáng-/ , /ts'i'ang-/ , /li'ang-/ , /ji'wang-/ , /ts'iang-/ , /t'i'ang-/ , /i'ang-/ , /k'áng-/ , /i'ang-/ , /s'áng-/ , /d'z'i'ang-/ , /li'ang-/ , /d'z'i'ang-/ , /ts'áng-/ , /li'ang-/ , /z'i'ang-/ , and /ts'i'ang-/.

The tenth time sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 38. /an/ and 39. /iän:/ (10) /ngan/, /kwan/, /kiän:/, and /γwan/.

The 11th rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rime 86. /uo-:/ (11) /luo-/ , /d'uo-/ , /kuo-/ , and /muo-/.

The 12th rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 63. /i'ang-/ and 62. /áng-:/ (12) /n'zi'ang:/ , /si'ang:/ , /n'áng:/ , /m'i'wang:/ , /l'áng:/ , and /s'iang:/.

The 13th rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rime 33. /i'əm:/ (13) /ts'i'əm/, /zi'əm/, /k'i'əm/, /li'əm/, /g'i'əm/, /si'əm/, /li'əm/, /zi'əm/, /ts'i'əm/, /d'i'əm/, /s'i'əm/, /-i'əm/, and /ngi'əm/.

The 14th rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 5. /ji:/ and 4. /ji:/ (14) /k'ji:/, /zi:/, /i:/, /d'i:/, /d'z'i:/, /lji:/, /tsi:/, /kji:/, /zi:/, /s'wi:/, /tsi:/, /si:/, /si:/, /t'i:/, and /k'ji:/.

The 15th rime sequence contains words belonging to the *Ch'ieh-yün* rime 83. /uk:/ (15) /suk/, /t'i'uk/, /p'i'uk/, /muk/, /d'i'uk/, /si'uk/, /kuk/, /pi'uk/, /kuk/, and /k'uk/.

This riming agrees on the whole with the rime classification of Table I. Generally speaking, literary riming is normally freer than the rime categorization of the *Ch'ieh-yün*. Those categories which frequently have rime contacts in rimed literature have in the *Ch'ieh-yün* been placed next to one another. Instances of this are 81. /uon/ and 82. /i'wong/; 4. /ji/ and 5. /ji/; 88. /i'u/ and 86. /uo/; 9. /u'äi/ and 8. /äi/; 40. /i'en/, 50. /u'en/, and 49. /en/; 41. /ien/ and 39. /iän/, and 92. /ieu/ and 91. /iäu/. These groups of rimes agree with the large rime categories of the literary rimes. But, what literary riming seeks to achieve is phonic harmony. The aim of the *Ch'ieh-yün* on the other hand, was to discriminate sounds, and this necessitated a more detailed classification.

However, the riming of different authors is not wholly identical. This may be due either to dialectal divergences, or to the different degrees of exactitude of the various authors' demands with regard to the phonic harmony of their riming.

In the works of some author two rime categories which are phonetically close one to the other are sometimes used in the same rime sequence, while other authors clearly distinguish between them. Those *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes which are classed together in the rime chart (Table II) are freely interriming in the works of the majority of authors. In the work of some authors, however, the individual *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes are clearly distinguished. This may be illustrated by the following examples:





made up of words belonging to rime 5. /ji/. Again, Shen Yüeh's *Mi-lo tsan* contains the sequence (25) /ńzi-/ , /d'i-/ , /pji-/ , /k'ji-/ , /jwi-/ , /d'wi-/ , /tsi-/ , /ńzi-/ , /mji-/ , /pji-/ , /swi-/ , /b'ji-/ and /i-/ , which is entirely composed of words belonging to rime 4. /ji/ (Shen Yüeh occasionally allows contacts between the rimes 4. /ji/ and 7. /jiě/). This clearly confirms the strict distinction between the rimes 5. /ji/ and 4. /ji/.

3. As to the three *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 87. /iwo/ , 88. /iu/ and 86. /uo/ we find that the majority of the authors of the periods of Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en employed 87. /iwo/ as an independent rime, only occasionally allowing rime contacts with 88. /iu/. The rimes 88. /iu/ and 86. /uo/ generally inter-rimed. A strict distinction between the rimes 88. /iu/ and 86. /uo/ was nevertheless upheld by some authors, such as Shen Yüeh, Wu Chün, Ho Sun, and Chang Tsuan. The distinction made by Shen Yüeh is especially strict. The following examples are taken from the works of Shen Yüeh and Ho Sun.

Shen Yüeh's *Hsien-shou shan* contains the following sequence: (26) /d'uo/ , /kuo/ , /tuo/ , /ɣuo/ , /d'uo/ , /uo/ , /puo/ , /b'uo/ and /ngu/; His *Su Tung-yüan* contains the sequence (27) /luo- , /b'uo- , /ngu/ , /kuo- , /luo- , /kuo- , /t'uo- , /suo- , /muo- , and /d'uo- . In *Shao-nien hsin-hun*, by the same author, we find the rime sequence (28) /k'iu/ , /ts'iu/ , /k'iu/ , /ts'iu/ , /b'iu/ , /piu/ , /p'iu/ , /ngiu/ , /k'iu/ , /ts'iu/ and /piu/. The *Chiao chü fu*, also by Shen Yüeh, contains the sequence (29) /k'iu/ , /t'iu/ , /ngiu/ , /ts'iu/ , /ngiu/ , /g'iu/ , /piu/; together with the *shang-sheng* sequence (30) /m'iu:/ , /ts'iu:/ , /j'iu:/ , /l'iu:/ , /m'iu:/ , and /z'iu:/ . Ho Sun's *Su Nan-chou p'u* contains the rime sequence (31) /kuo:/ , /p'uo:/ , /ngu:/ , /kuo:/ , /luo:/ , and /t'uo:/ ; in his *Ch'iu-hsi t'an pai-fa* we find the sequence (32): /b'iu/ , /z'iu/ , /ngiu/ , /ts'iu/ , /k'iu/ , /s'iu/ , /m'iu/ , /ngiu/ , /iu/ , /ts'iu/ , /t'iu/ , /b'iu/ , and /ngiu/.

4. The two *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 94a. /iəu/ and 94b. /iěu/ inter-rimed in the periods of Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en. But the rimed appraisal appended to the *chu-tzu* section of the *Wen-hsin tiao lung* by the Liang scholar Liu Hsieh contains the rime sequence (33): /s'əu- , /d'əu- , /z'əu- and /j'əu- , all four words of which belong to the first of these two rimes. In the appraisal appended to the *feng-shan* section of the same work we find the sequence (34): /χ'ěu/ , /p'ěu/ , /t'ěu/ and /g'ěu/ , which words all belong to the rime 94b. /iěu/. This shows a clear distinction between the two rimes.

The observations which have been made indicate that although the rime distinctions of the *Ch'ieh-yün* are very minute, they had a definite relation to the phonetic structure of an actually existing language. We have at the same time seen that the riming employed by literary men was sometimes rather free and sometimes rather strict. The fact that Hsieh T'iao and Shen Yüeh belonged to the latter category indicates that writers from the *Yung-ming* period [483–493 A.D.] and onwards were well versed in phonetic analysis.

The biography of Lu Chüeh (*Nan shih*, chüan 48) says: "At the time [491 A.D.] literature flourished. Shen Yüeh from Wu-hsing, Hsieh T'iao from the prefecture of Ch'en and Wang Jung from Lang-ya, recommended literary men for promotion on the basis of their common predilection for poetics. Chou Yung from Ju-nan had an expert knowledge of phonetics. Shen Yüeh and others took account of

tonal features in their compositions. Every five-syllabic verse had a fixed prosodic arrangement. Within each pair of verses there was a regulated alternation of tones. This metrical scheme, which could neither be added to nor subtracted from, was at the time referred to as the *Yung-ming style*".

Chung Jung of the Liang period says in his *Shih p'in*: "These three gentlemen [Shen Yüeh, Hsieh T'iao and Wang Jung] were all the descendants of noble families, and had from their youth developed a keen appreciation of literature. This made them greatly respected and admired in the literary world, and all writers endeavoured to achieve preciseness [in their metrical compositions]<sup>1)</sup>". From this we know that meticulous discrimination of rimes was in vogue at that time. The very fact that Shen Yüeh and Hsieh T'iao were able to make fine rime distinctions indicates that these distinctions were inherent in the language. If such distinctions could be made in riming, it is quite obvious that the compilers of rime books found it necessary to apply the same standards in their classification of rimes.

The Liang period was precisely the time when Shen Yüeh dominated the literary scene. Influenced by this new current all writers of the time were meticulous about phonology and metrics.

In Wang Yün's biography (*Nan shih, chüan* 22) we read as follows: "Whenever Shen Yüeh read Wang Yün's writings he sighed. On one occasion he said: 'Formerly when Ts'ai Po-chieh [=Ts'ai Jung] received Wang Chung-hsüan [=Wang Ts'an] he praised him saying: 'this grandson of the Ducal Minister Wang, to him I ought to give all the books in my private collection'. Although I am not very bright I would like to add to this statement. Since Hsieh T'iao and the other great writers vanished, I was about to lose all interest in life. Now that I have met you, I no longer dread the evening of my life . . . When Shen Yüeh was concentrating hard on the composition of his *Chiao chü fu* he showed the yet unfinished draft to Wang Yün. When Wang Yün had read out the phrase (35) *tz'u ni* [/ngiek/] *lien chüan* ["the rainbows intermingle in confusion"], Shen Yüeh clapped his hands in great joy and exclaimed: 'I have often feared that people would pronounce /ngiek/ as /ngiei-'. When Wang Yün came to the passages (36) *chui shih tui hsing* ["the falling stones were thrown against the stars"], and (37) *ping hsüan k'an erh tai ch'ih* ["the ice hovers over the hollows and carries the peaks in its girdle"] Wang Yün tapped out the beats and voiced his approval. Shen Yüeh said: 'Few [men of our time] have a knowledge of diction; true literary appreciation will probably come to an end. *It is on lines such as these that our friendship is built.*<sup>2)</sup>

Wang Yün once presented a poem to Shen Yüeh who immediately sent a letter in reply in which he expressed the opinion that a late-comer had monopolized all literary excellence for himself.

Wang Yün was able to make up unorthodox rimes. Whenever he helped to im-

<sup>1)</sup> According to Chou Tsu-mo this quotation from the *Shih p'in* is taken from the third chapter of the work. In my edition (Ch'en T'ing-chieh, *Shih p'in chu, T'ai-wan K'ai-ming shu-chü*, 2nd edition, 1964) the quotation is found in the introduction (*tsung-lun*), page 9.

<sup>2)</sup> My translation of this sentence—(37a) *so-yi hsiang-yao cheng tsai tz'u shu chü erh*—is tentative.

provize poetry at official banquets the result was extraordinarily elegant. On one occasion Shen Yüeh spoke to the Emperor, saying that none of the young generation of famous writers could take precedence before Wang Yün."

Shen Yüeh's great admiration for Wang Yün was due not only to his excellent style, but also to his expert knowledge of phonology. Wang Yün's ability to write 'unorthodox rimes' is a good indication of this knowledge.

Shen Yüeh also held Liu Hsieh in high regard. Liu Hsieh was a man of Chü, in Tung-huan; at the time he lived in Ching-k'ou (east of the present Chen-chiang in Kiangsu). His work, the *Wen-hsin tiao lung*, contains a chapter on metrics, which is in perfect accord with Shen Yüeh's own views. Each of the 50 chapters of the *Wen-hsin tiao lung* contains a rimed appraisal, characterized by a very strict riming. In the majority of cases the rimes belong to the *tse-sheng* categories [of *shang-sheng*, *ch'ü-sheng*, and occasionally, *ju-sheng*]. Liu Hsieh's rimes enable us to arrive at a clearer understanding of the *Ch'ieh-yün* classification. In the following we list Liu Hsieh's rime sequences, with the relevant *Ch'ieh-yün* rime(s) added within parentheses:

- Chapter *Yüan-tao*, (38): /kau-/ , /xau-/ , /mau-/ , /yau-/ (rime 90. /au-/);  
 Chapter *Cheng-sheng*, (39): /ts'äi:/ , /ts'äi:/ , /xäi:/ , /dz'äi:/ (rime 8. /äi:/);  
 Chapter *Tsung-ching*, (40): /k'uo:/ , /nguo:/ , /p'iu:/ , /tsuo:/ (rimes 86. /uo:/ and 88. /iu:/);  
 Chapter *Cheng-wei*, (41): /jwěi-/ , /kjwěi-/ , /pjwěi-/ , /jwěi-/ (rime 6. /jwěi-/);  
 Chapter *Pien-sao*, (42): /säu/ , /käu/ , /läu/ , /yäu/ (rime 89. /äu/);  
 Chapter *Ming-shih*, (43): /yäm/ , /näm/ , /ts'äm/ , /täm/ (rime 17. /äm/);  
 Chapter *Yüeh-fu*, (44): /t'iei:/ , /b'iei:/ , /k'iei:/ , /liei:/ , (rime 16. /iei:/);  
 Chapter *Ch'üan-fu*, (45): /p'wai-/ , /ywai-/ , /ai-/ , /b'ai-/ (rime 12. /ai-/);  
 Chapter *Sung-tsan*, (46): /tsän-/ , /län-/ , /tän-/ , /nguän-/ (rime 35. /än-/);  
 Chapter *Chu-meng*, (47): /d'äm/ , /käm/ , /läm/ , /dz'äm/ (rime 18. /äm/);  
 Chapter *Ming-chen*, (48): /k'wi:/ , /s'wi:/ , /lji:/ , /mji:/ (rime 4. /ji:/);  
 Chapter *Lei-pei*, (49): /liəp/ , /dz'iep/ , /k'iep/ , /ts'iep/ (rime 34. /iep/);  
 Chapter *Ai-tiao*, (50): /lung-/ , /d'ung-/ , /k'ung-/ , /sung-/ (rime 80. /ung-/);  
 Chapter *Tsa-wen*, (51): /pau:/ , /k'au:/ , /mau:/ , /kau:/ (rime 90. /au:/);  
 Chapter *Hsieh-yin*, (52): /b'wäi-/ , /k'wäi-/ , /käi-/ , /ywäi-/ (rime 11. /äi-/);  
 Chapter *Shih-chuan*, (53): /k'ung:/ , /tsung:/ , /d'ung:/ , /tung:/ (rime 80. /ung:/);  
 Chapter *Chu-tzu*, (54): /s'ieu-/ , /d'ieu-/ , /z'ieu-/ , /j'ieu-/ (rime 94a. /ieu-/);  
 Chapter *Lun-shuo*, (55): /luən-/ , /ts'uən-/ , /d'uən-/ , /k'iuən-/ (rimes 40. /iuən/ and 50. /uən-/);  
 Chapter *Chao-ts'e*, (56): /käu-/ , /xäu-/ , /d'äu-/ , /yäu-/ (rime 89. /äu-/);  
 Chapter *Hsi-yi*, (57): /ywai-/ , /b'wai-/ , /i'ai-/ , /mwai-/ (rime 13. /ai-/);  
 Chapter *Feng-shan*, (58): /x'ieu/ , /p'ieu/ , /i'ieu/ , /g'ieu/ (rime 94b. /ieu/);  
 Chapter *Chang-piao*, (59): /j'ěi:/ , /jwěi:/ , /mjwěi:/ , /p'jwěi:/ (rime 6. /jwěi:/);  
 Chapter *Tsou-ch'i*, (60): /k'iem-/ , /d'iem-/ , /ts'iem-/ , /n'iem-/ (rime 33. /iem-/);  
 Chapter *Yi-tui*, (61): /k'ud-/ , /nuä-/ , /yud-/ , /puä-/ (rime 2. /ud-/);  
 Chapter *Shu chi*, (62): /tšät/ , /nuät/ , /b'wät/ , /tš'ät/ (rime 45. /ät/ [and 56. /uat/]);  
 Chapter *Shen-ssu*, (63): /i'äng-/ , /i'äng-/ , /x'äng-/ , /s'äng-/ (rime 67. /i'äng-/);  
 Chapter *T'i-hsing*, (64): /k'wiě:/ , /swiě:/ , /tsiě:/ , /mjiě:/ (rime 7. /jiě:/);

Chapter *Feng-ku*, (65): *|b'ieng:/*, *|t'iäng:/*, *|kɔng:/*, *|pɿwɔng:/* (rimes 70. *|ɔng:/*, 72. *|iäng:/*, and 73. *|ieng:/*);

Chapter *T'ung-pien*, (66): *|ngɿɔp/*, *|b'ɿwɔp/*, *|k'ɿɔp/*, *|pɿwɔp/* (rime 30. *|ɿɔp/*);

Chapter *Ting-shih*, (67): *|ziəng/*, *|dz'ziəng/*, *|ngɿəng/*, *|liəng/* (rime 67. *|iəng/*);

Chapter *Ch'ing-ts'ai*, (68): *|ngɿäm-/*, *|ziän-/*, *|iäm-/*, *|·iäm-/* (rime 21. *|iäm-/*);

Chapter *Jung-ts'ai*, (69): *|k'ám-/*, *|lám-/*, *|d'ám-/*, *|tám-/* (rime 18. *|ám-/*);

Chapter *Sheng-lü*, (70): *|g'ɿən:/*, *|mɿuən:/*, *|kɿən:/*, *|·ɿən:/* (rime 51. *|ɿən:/*);

Chapter *Chang-chü*, (71): *|ɣəng/*, *|b'əng/*, *|d'əng/*, *|nəng/*, (rime 66. *|əng/*);

Chapter *Li-tz'u*, (72): *|p'uái-/*, *|tsái-/*, *|t'ái-/*, *|b'uái-/* (rimes 8. *|ái-/*, and 9. *|uái-/*);

Chapter *Pi-hsing*, (73): *|lám:/*, *|tám:/*, *|kám:/*, *|ɣuán:/* (rimes 18. *|ám:/* and 35. *|án:/*);

Chapter *K'ua-shih*, (74): *|kɿäm:/*, *|dz'ɿäm:/*, *|iäm:/*, *|tiem:/* (rimes 21. *|iäm:/* [and 24. *|iem:/*]);

Chapter *Shih-lei*, (75): *|ɣəng-/*, *|d'əng-/*, *|dz'əng-/*, *|məng-/* (rime 66. *|əng-/*);

Chapter *Lien-tzu*, (76): *|ɣɿuən-/*, *|b'ɿuən-/*, *|jɿuən-/*, *|pɿuən-/* (rime 52. *|ɿuən-/*);

Chapter *Yin-hsiu*, (77): *|pau/*, *|ɣau/*, *|kau/*, *|b'au/* (rime 90. *|au/*);

Chapter *Chih-hsia*, (78): *|ka-/*, *|zia-/*, *|ɣwa-/*, *|·a-/* (rime 3. *|a-/*);

Chapter *Yang-ch'i*, (79): *|siəng:/*, *|iəng:/*, *|läng:/*, *|siəng:/* (rime 63. *|iəng:/* and 62. *|äng:/*);

Chapter *Fu-huei*, (80): *|d'iep/*, *|iäp/*, *|tsiäp/*, *|ɣiep/* (rimes 29. *|iäp/* and 32. *|iep/*);

Chapter *Tsung-shu*, (81): *|muən/*, *|ngɿwən/*, *|b'ɿwən/*, *|dz'uən/* (rimes 40. *|ɿwən/* and 50. *|uən/*);

Chapter *Shih-hsü*, (82): *|pɿän-/*, *|g'ɿwän-/*, *|siwän-/*, *|mɿän-/* (rime 39. *|iän-/*);

Chapter *Wu-sheh*, (83): *|ɣäp/*, *|näp/*, *|säp/*, *|täp/* (rime 25. *|äp/*);

Chapter *Ts'ai-lüeh*, (84): *|pɿəm:/*, *|kɿəm:/*, *|ziəm:/*, *|p'ɿəm:/* (rime 33. *|iəm:/*);

Chapter *Chih-yin*, (85): *|d'ienɡ-/*, *|tieng-/*, *|t'ienɡ-/*, *|kieng-/*, (rime 73. *|ienɡ-/*);

Chapter *Ch'eng-ch'i*, (86): *|tək/*, *|pək/*, *|tsək/*, *|kwək/* (rime 68. *|ək/*);

Chapter *Hsü-chih*, (87): *|tiě-/*, *|iě-/*, *|ngɿiě-/*, *|kɿiě-/* (rime 7. *|jiě-/*);

Although not very numerous these rime sequences from the *Wen-hsin tiao lung* are very important. We find here clear distinctions between 7. *|jiě/*, 4. *|ji/* and 6. *|jwěi/*; between 11. *|ái/* and 12. *|ai/*; between 13. *|ai-/* and 11. *|äi-/*; between 1. *|á/* and 3. *|a/*; between 89. *|áu/* and 90. *|au/*; between 94a. *|iəu/* and 94b. *|iəu/*; between 67. *|iəng/* and 66. *|əng/*; and between 17. *|äm/* and 18. *|ám/*. In the riming of the *Wen-hsin tiao lung* 80. *|ung/*, 35. *|án/*, 68. *|ək/*, 45. *|at/*, 34. *|iəp/*, and 25. *|äp/* constitute separate rimes. In these respects the rime classes of the *Wen-hsin tiao lung* are in agreement with the *Ch'ieh-yün* classification.

Of special interest is the fact that rimes of division II (such as 12. *|ai/*, 11. *|äi/*, 13. *|ai-/*, 90. *|au/*, 45. *|at/*, and others, are clearly distinguished. This agrees with the classification of Hsia-hou Kai's *Yün-lüeh*, which is sufficient evidence of the fact that Hsia-hou Kai's work represents the pronunciation of the South. (It is impermissible to suggest that Liu Hsieh based his riming on Hsia-hou Kai's rime book, since some features of the 50 rime sequences from the *Wen-hsin tiao lung* are at variance with Hsia-hou Kai's classification).

The distinction between 12. *|ai/* and 11. *|äi/*, and between 38. *|an/* and 37. *|än/*, which distinctions are upheld in Hsia-hou Kai's work, is also evidenced in the riming

of the Liang period. (Yü Hsin of the Northern Chou only occasionally employs rime contacts of the type /an/ : /ǎn/ and /at/ : /ăt/).

The *Ch'ieh-yün* follows Hsia-hou Kai's work in treating all division II rimes as separate entities. This is evidence of the fact that the *Ch'ieh-yün* is not a subjective and artificial construct, and that many of the *Ch'ieh-yün* distinctions conformed to the Southern pronunciation of the periods of Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en.

1 茫疆王亡祥囊荒翔章鄉忘芳梁狼牆航張吭羊光康芒湘方傷漳  
 體陽 2 及立邑粒集襲入泣及 3 羣單雲 4 雪汭列說說 5  
 衡聲名生戒兵 6 腦道掃單保吳芳 7 萬天年旋塵懸烟馬結連  
 虔宣 8 伐宰窟關沒忽月 9 讓望謗唱量王壯暢帳抗煬喪狀掠  
 狀葬恨上槍 10 顏關零還 11 路度故慕 12 壞想襲綢朗實 13  
 侵潯金臨琴心林尋岑沅深陰吟 14 芭市已峙仕裡齒已恃水止始  
 使社起 15 遠竹覆木逐宿穀福谷哭 16 庭陞屏圻亭冥形 17 經  
 亭陞涇形星青邢銘庭屏 18 莞驚 19 隔朕 20 贖盡冊核 21 茲  
 時齒辭聰持絲期嗤 22 理史子祀士齒恥里漢市裡趾始 23 期茲  
 詩疑滋詞輜芝嗤 24 怡基芝栖持嬉茲時 25 二地嚮器位墜至資  
 媚祕選備懿 26 徒孤都胡塗烏逋哺吳 27 路步五故露顧兔素暮  
 度 28 嘔未軀珠肅膚敷隅駒趨夫 29 區株娛朱隅衛跗 30 武主  
 宇縷撫豎 31 苦浦五鼓齒主 32 扶殊隅殊軀須廡隅愉樞株肅岫  
 33 秀宙授圍 34 焦彪幽蚪 35 雌霓連蜺 36 墜石碓星 37 冰  
 懸瑞而帶城 37 A 所以相要政在此數句耳 38 敬孝親傲 39 宰  
 采海在 40 古五府祖 41 緯青涕蔚 42 騷高勞豪 43 含南參耽  
 44 體陞啟禮 45 派畫隘梓 46 讚爛旦阮 47 談甘藍慙 48 軌  
 水履美 49 立集泣戢 50 弄慟控送 51 飽巧昂攬 52 慙劓誠壞  
 53 孔總動董 54 秀宙授圍 55 論寸邀勸 56 語好踰琬 57 語  
 敗蓋邁 58 焦彪幽蚪 59 宸偉尾裴 60 禁醜浸任 61 課懦和播  
 62 札訥拔察 63 孕應興勝 64 詭髓紫靡 65 並騁鯁炳 66 業  
 乏怯法 67 承繩疑陵 68 驗瞻黠厭 69 嗽濫淡擔 70 近叻謹  
 隱 71 恆朋騰能 72 配載態佩 73 覽膽敢渙 74 檢漸琰玷 75  
 亘鄧贈憎 76 訓分運奮 77 包艾交匏 78 駕謝化亞 79 想養朗  
 爽 80 壹葉接協 81 門源繫存 82 變倦選面 83 合納瓊答 84  
 稟錦甚品 85 定訂聽徑 86 德北則國 87 智易義寄

#### IV

Hitherto we have looked at the problem out from the riming in literature of the Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en periods. But the riming of poetry constitutes a very complex problem, in that some rimes, such as 81. /u<sup>o</sup>ng/ and 82. /i<sup>u</sup>wong/, 41. /ien/ and 39. /iän/, 63. /i<sup>u</sup>ang/ and 62. /äng/, 94a. /i<sup>u</sup>əu/ and 93. /əu/ are generally used interchangeably, and that it therefore is difficult to determine their differences. On account of this we had better resort to a comparison between the *Ch'ieh-yün* and other rime books which contain *fan-ch'ieh* spellings.

The one among the extant rime books which is closest in time to the *Ch'ieh-yün* and which furthermore contains the greatest number of characters and the most complete *fan-ch'ieh* spellings is the *Yü-p'ien*, written by Ku Yeh-wang of the Liang period. Ku Yeh-wang was born in the 18th year of the *T'ien-chien* reign (519 A.D.) and died in the 13th year of the *T'ai-chien* reign (581 A.D.). Native of the commandery of Wu (present Su-chou in the Kiangsu province) he was appointed Doctor of the Academy in the *Ta-t'ung* reign of the Liang dynasty (535-545 A.D.), when he received an Imperial command to compile the *Yü-p'ien*. The work contained altogether 16,917 character entries (see the *wen-tzu* section of *Feng-shih wen chien chi*). Although only one eighth of the original work is still extant (the Japanese fragment comprises about 2100 characters), the *fan-ch'ieh* spellings of the original have all been preserved in the Japanese work *Banshyō myōgi* by Kūkai. On the evidence afforded by an examination of the *Ban-sho mei-gi*, and other extant fragments of the original *Yü-p'ien*, we know that the rime categorization of the *Yü-p'ien* is extremely close to that of the *Ch'ieh-yün*. The major differences are that the *Ch'ieh-yün* pairs 4. /ji/ and 5. /ji/, 9. /u<sup>u</sup>i/ and 8. /<sup>u</sup>i/; 53. /ien/ and 55. /i<sup>u</sup>en/; 94a. /i<sup>u</sup>əu/ and 94b. /i<sup>u</sup>əu/; 22. /i<sup>u</sup>m/ and 23. /i<sup>u</sup>m/ are treated as single entities in the *fan-ch'ieh* spellings of the *Yü-p'ien*, and that the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes 51. /i<sup>u</sup>ən/ and 53. /i<sup>u</sup>ən/, and also 70. /vng/ and 72. /i<sup>u</sup>äng/, are partly confused. The remaining *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes, such as 80. /ung/, 81. /u<sup>o</sup>ng/, 82. /i<sup>u</sup>wong/, 78. /äng/, 7. /ji<sup>u</sup>ě/, 6. /j<sup>u</sup>ěi/, 87. /i<sup>u</sup>wo/, 88. /i<sup>u</sup>/, 86. /uo/, 16. /iei/, 12. /ai/, 11. /äi/, 10. /äi/, 14. /i<sup>u</sup>äi/, 13. /ai/, 15. /i<sup>u</sup>vi/, 52. /i<sup>u</sup>uən/, 40. /i<sup>u</sup>m/, 50. /uən/, 49. /ən/, 35. /än/, 38. /an/, 37. /än/, 41. /ien/, 39. /iän/, 92. /ieu/, 91. /i<sup>u</sup>äu/, 90. /au/, 89. /äu/, 1. /ä/, 3. /a/, 17. /äm/, 18. /äm/, 63. /i<sup>u</sup>ang/, 62. /äng/, 71. /eng/, 73. /ieng/, 93. /əu/, 33. /i<sup>u</sup>m/, 21. /i<sup>u</sup>äm/, 24. /iem/, 67. /i<sup>u</sup>äng/, 66. /əng/, 19. /äm/, and 20. /am/ (including the corresponding *shang-sheng*, *ch'ü-sheng* and *ju-sheng* rimes) are all clearly differentiated in the *Yü-p'ien*. (For a detailed discussion of this see Chou Tsu-mo, "*Ban-sho mei-gi chung chih yüan-pen Yü-p'ien yin-hsi*" [The phonological system of the original *Yü-p'ien* as found in the *Ban-sho mei-gi*], in Chou Tsu-mo, *Wen-hsüan chi* [Collection of learned essays], Peking 1966, pp. 270-404). From this may be seen that the rime classification of the *Ch'ieh-yün* is not only basically congruent with the riming of the literature of the Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en periods (including also the Northern Ch'i and the Northern Chou), but also almost identical with the rime categories of the *Yü-p'ien*, written by Ku Yeh-wang, a native of the Wu commandery, in the Liang dynasty. Specially worthy of notice is the fact that the *Ch'ieh-yün* differentiation, within

the same rime group [*she*], of division III and division IV rimes tallies exactly with that of the *Yü-p'ien*.

These facts show even more clearly that the *Ch'ieh-yün*, in its classification of rimes, to a large extent was based on the Southern rime books (such as Hsia-hou Kai's *Yün-lüeh*) and dictionaries (such as Ku Yeh-wang's *Yü-p'ien*). I refer here to my previous statement that the *Ch'ieh-yün* classification of rimes was determined mainly by the two scholars Yen Chih-t'ui and Hsiao Kai. In his discussion on the linguistic differences between the South and the North, Yen Chih-t'ui once stated as follows: "Thus, were educated gentlemen are concerned, the pronunciation of the South is superior; where the common people is concerned, the Northern pronunciation is the better". Since he considered that the South excelled over the North in regard to the language used by members of the aristocracy, and since he himself originated from the Southern aristocracy, he naturally held the language of this class in high esteem. The rime distinctions of the *Ch'ieh-yün* agree with those obtaining in the works of the Southerners Hsia-hou Kai and Ku Yeh-wang, both of which belonged to the official class of the Liang dynasty. Hsia-hou Kai was an extremely well-read man, and Ku Yeh-wang served as Doctor of the Academy. They necessarily based themselves on the received literary pronunciation of their time, and on the pronunciation currently used in official circles in Chin-ling. This would also be in complete agreement with what Yen Chih-t'ui advocated. Hence the phonetic system of the *Ch'ieh-yün* without doubt also constituted a systematization of the same refined speech and literary pronunciation.

Due to lack of material it is difficult to investigate to what extent the *Ch'ieh-yün* incorporates features of the Northern pronunciation. We know from the section on phonetics in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* that, as far as initials are concerned, Northern speakers distinguished between *[dz']* and *[z]* and between *[dž']* and *[ž]*, and that these distinctions were not upheld by Southern speakers, a fact which is born out by both the *Yü-p'ien* and the *Ching-tien shih wen*. The *Ch'ieh-yün* distinctions *[dz']* : *[z]* and *[dž']* : *[ž]* are definitely arrived at on the basis of the Northern pronunciation. Certain differences with regard to rime categories likewise obtained between Northern speakers and Southern speakers. As Yen Chih-t'ui has pointed out, Northerners normally failed to distinguish between 7. *[jiě]* and 4. *[ji]*; 87. *[iwo]* and 88. *[iu]* and 27. *[ǎp]* and 28. *[ap]*, while they observed the distinction between 4. *[ji]* and 5. *[ji]*, and did not allow 4. *[ji]* to be confused with 6. *[jěi]*. In the riming of Lu Ch'iung, Wei Shou and Tsu T'ing of the Northern Ch'i the rimes 5. *[ji]* and 6. *[jěi]* constitute separate categories, within which no single word of the rime category 4. *[ji]* ever occurs. The *Ch'ieh-yün* classification of 4. *[ji]*, 5. *[ji]* and 6. *[jěi]* into three different rime categories is therefore in conformity with the phonetics of the North. These three rimes are also distinguished in the rime books written by Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing. However, taking a general account of all the available material, we find that the rime classification of the *Ch'ieh-yün* in a majority of instances is based on the Southern idiom. It was therefore not entirely without foundation that many scholars of the T'ang period stated that Lu Fa-yen's work represented the pronunciation of the Wu dialect.

(For further details see Chou Tsu-mo, "*Ch'ieh-yün yü Wu-yin*", [On the *Ch'ieh-yün* and the Wu dialect], in Chou Tsu-mo, *Wen-hsüeh chi* [Collection of learned essays], Peking 1966, 474-482).

On the basis of the material which has been discussed above we conclude that the foundation of the sound system of the *Ch'ieh-yün* must have been the refined speech generally used by the educated classes in the South and in the North during the 6th century. As to distinctions of phonetic minutiae, these were mainly based on the received literary pronunciation of the South in the same period. Inferences other than these may probably not be established on a sound basis.

## V

Comrade Wang Hsien considers that Lu Fa-yen's *Ch'ieh-yün* was based on the sound system of the Lo-yang dialect, while at the same time incorporating older pronunciations and dialect forms (see his "*Ch'ieh-yün ti ming-ming ho Ch'ieh-yün ti hsing-chih*", [On the name and the nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün*], *Zhongguo Yuwen* 4 (1961), 16-25). Basing the discussion on the realities of the case [it may be argued that] Lu Fa-yen, as a Northerner, when compiling his rime book decidedly would take the dialect of Lo-yang in Honan as his standard. Nevertheless, when Lu Fa-yen determined his rime categories, he "related the opinions of his worthy colleagues" (Yen Chih-t'ui, Hsiao Kai and their colleagues). Judging from the rime books by Yang Hsiu-chih, Li Chi-chieh and Tu T'ai-ch'ing, and from the riming of Northern poets, the broader distinctions of the *Ch'ieh-yün* ought not to have differed very widely from the pronunciation of Lo-yang and Yeh. The finer distinctions of the *Ch'ieh-yün* were for the most part in agreement with the Southern pronunciation, as promoted by Yen Chih-t'ui; with the rime categories of Ku Yeh-wang's *Yü-p'ien*, and with the rimes employed by the literati of the Liang period. (In a majority of cases the *fan-ch'ieh* spellings of the *Ch'ieh-yün* agree with those of the *Ching-tien shih wen* by Lu Teh-ming, Since the *Yü-p'ien* is the earlier of the two, no examples are here adduced from the *Ching-tien shih wen*). Our knowledge of the so called "Lo-yang pronunciation" is very limited, due to the scarcity of documentary evidence; empty speculations are of no avail. But if we take the riming of folk songs and ballads, and the poetry of the literati of the Northern Ch'i as the point of departure in our discussion, we find a great many discrepancies between these rimes and those of the *Ch'ieh-yün*. Hsing Shao and Wei Shou of the Northern Ch'i both lived in Lo-yang from their early childhood. Lu Ssu-tao and Hsüeh Tao-heng, who together with Yen Chih-t'ui, Hsiao Kai, and the others, took part in the discussions on phonology, both resided in Yeh for long periods. The riming employed in the poetry of these scholars is not in entire agreement with the *Ch'ieh-yün*. In Hsing Shao's poetry there are occasional rime contacts of the type 40. */iən/*: 41. */ien/* and 8. */äi/*: 11. */äi/*. Wei Shou rimes 91. */iäu/* and 89. */äu/*; Lu Ssu-tao occasionally employs rimes of the type 38. */an/* and 37. */än/*. Hsüeh Tao-heng occasionally employs the rimes 7. */jiě/* and 4. */ji/* interchangeably. This is definitely related to the question concerning what degree of precision these scholars aimed for in their



rimin (The same phenomenon is found also in the riming of the literati of the Southern dynasties of Ch'i and Liang). But a statement to the effect that the Lo-yang pronunciation constituted the foundation of the *Ch'ieh-yün* phonological system can be made only with reference to the broad classification of rimes. The finer distinctions obtaining in the *Ch'ieh-yün* rime classification were in fact determined on the basis of the received literary pronunciation of the educated classes in the South. There are as yet no means of ascertaining to what extent the literary pronunciation of Yeh and Lo-yang during the Northern Ch'i period differed from that of the South. Judging from what Yen Chih-t'ui says, apart from Ts'ui Tzu-yüeh, Li Tsu-jen and a few others not many of the Northern scholars had a correct pronunciation. This indicates that the phonetic analysis and the rime classification of the North were less refined and accurate than those of the South.

Mr. Ch'en Yin-ko has suggested that, after the Eastern Chin, the scholars of Southern dynasties all spoke the old Lo-yang dialect (See his "Tung Chin Nan-ch'ao chih Wu-yin"). He has also suggested that the *Ch'ieh-yün* system does not represent a given dialect of that time, but that the pronunciation standard of the *Ch'ieh-yün* was identical with the old phonetic system of the Imperial capital of Lo-yang prior to the move to the South in the period of Eastern Chin (See his "Ts'ung shih-shih lun *Ch'ieh-yün*" [The *Ch'ieh-yün* problem in the light of historical reality], *Ling-nan hsüeh-pao* 9 (1949), 1-18). This problem involves two different aspects. Considering the cultural relations between the Southern dynasties and the North prior to the move to the South in the period of the Eastern Chin, we accept as historical facts that the scholars of the North, after the move to the South, held on to their old literary pronunciation, and that scholars of the South were gradually influenced by and eventually acquired the Northern language. That the phonological system of the *Ch'ieh-yün* was related to the pronunciation of Lo-yang prior to the move to the South in the period of the Eastern Chin also agrees with the realities of linguistic development. During the Latter Han, the Wei and the Chin, Lo-yang was the political and cultural centre of the entire nation. After the move to the South, Chin-ling took over and carried on the functions that Lo-yang had previously filled in the fields of scholarship and cultural activities. It is altogether possible that the great families which arrived in the South handed down their way of life and their language from generation to generation, thus preserving their old traditions. This in one aspect of the matter. The question whether the *Ch'ieh-yün* system was actually identical with the Lo-yang pronunciation prior to the move to the South is yet another aspect of this matter. In order to determine this question it is necessary that we consider whether the actual classification of initials and rimes in the *Ch'ieh-yün* is in perfect agreement with the pronunciation of the capital of Lo-yang in the Western Chin period. Various sources indicate, however, that the pronunciation of the Western Chin period in many instances disagreed with the *Ch'ieh-yün* system. Thus (1) *[tung]* and (2) *[t̥iung]* (*Ch'ieh-yün* rime 80. *[ung]*) belonged to different categories, and so did (3) *[pang]* and (4) *[ɣang]* (rime 78. *[ang]*), (5) *[ɣiei]* and (6) *[ts'iei]* (rime 16. *[iei]*), (7) *[muäi]* and (8) *[ɣuäi]* (rime 9. *[uäi]*), (9) *[muk]* and (10) *[liuk]* (rime 83. *[uk]*), and (11) *[ziäk]* and (12)

/iäk/ (rime 16. /iäk/). All these instances deviate from the *Ch'ieh-yün* system. The statement that the *Ch'ieh-yün* actually represents the old pronunciation of Lo-yang prior to the move to the South does not agree with the historical facts. The Northern pronunciation which the scholars of the Southern dynasties adhered to and acquired was not necessarily the old pronunciation of the capital of Lo-yang in Western Chin, from which it must have differed to a certain extent. The pronunciation which was esteemed by Yen Chih-t'ui was the generally accepted, synchronically consistent and required literary pronunciation, a pronunciation subjected to change with the passing of time, and not to be considered a target suspended in mid-air, in imitation of past ages. Therefore we must not consider this problem solely from the viewpoint of cultural history and thus conclude that the standard pronunciation of the *Ch'ieh-yün* actually was identical with the pronunciation of Lo-yang in the period of Western Chin. The investigation of concrete matters must proceed on the basis of concrete premises; where conditions of time and geographic location are different we had better abstain from drawing forced conclusions.

To sum up: the *Ch'ieh-yün* is a highly systematized rime book containing extremely strict definitions of phonetic distinctions. Its phonological system is not based solely on the dialect of one given region; the system has been established on the basis of the received and cultured speech and reading pronunciations of Southern gentlemen, such as Yen Chih-t'ui and Hsiao Kai, and on an attempt to bridge the differences between South and North. Cultured speech and reading pronunciations, in a majority of instances, are in conformity with traditional phonetic usage. Since the *Ch'ieh-yün* operates with a set of strictly defined phonetic distinctions—disallowing the forms of one category to be confused with those of another—it naturally follows that some distinctions obtaining in earlier phonological stages of the language have been preserved in the *Ch'ieh-yün*. But this does not mean that Yen Chih-t'ui, Hsiao Kai and the other coëditors intentionally aimed at including deviating dialect forms and items representative of earlier diachronic stages. The *Ch'ieh-yün* is strictly defined, and takes as its base actual cultured speech and dictionary readings. These distinctions, which Yen Chih-t'ui and Hsiao Kai must have been able to make, would necessarily have met with the approval of the other coëditors. The *Preface* of the *Ch'ieh-yün* says: "The *chu-tso* Wei Yen-yüan said to me, Fa-yen: 'Now that all doubtful cases have been solved through our recent discussion, why not write it all down in accordance with our discourses. Let us few friends settle these matters once and for all.'" This suffices to show that the coëditors of the *Ch'ieh-yün* arrived at their final classification only after repeated discussions and after having analysed all contrasts. Since the classification was the endproduct of discussions between learned men and writers from both South and North, it would undoubtedly agree with both the Southern and the Northern language. This system can therefore be said to constitute the phonological system of the literature language of the 6th century. In a diachronic study of Chinese phonology it is therefore perfectly permissible to treat the *Ch'ieh-yün* system as representative of the phonology of the 6th century.

1 東 2 中 3 邦 4 降 5 系 6 姜 7 梅 8 回 9 木  
10 六 11 石 12 易

APPENDIX A:

1 歌 弩 箇  
2 戈 果 過  
3 麻 馬 禡  
4 脂 旨 至  
5 之 止 志  
6 微 尾 未  
7 支 紙 寘  
8 咍 海 代  
9 灰 賄 隊  
10 皆 駭 泰  
11 佳 解 卦  
12 夬 祭 怪  
13 廢 廢 怪  
14 齊 齊 齊  
15 覃 感 勘  
16 談 敢 闌  
17 咸 賺 陷  
18 銜 檻 鑑  
19 鹽 琰 豔  
20 嚴 儼 釅  
21 凡 范 梵  
22 添 忝 忝  
23 添 忝 忝  
24 添 忝 忝

25 合 盍  
26 洽 狎  
27 洽 狎  
28 狎 葉  
29 業 業  
30 乏 帖  
31 帖 侵  
32 緝 寢  
33 緝 緝  
34 寒 旱  
35 桓 緩  
36 山 產  
37 刪 潛  
38 仙 獮  
39 元 阮  
40 先 銑  
41 曷 末  
42 曷 末  
43 鎔 鎔  
44 黠 薛  
45 黠 薛  
46 月 屑  
47 月 屑  
48 月 屑

49 痕 很 恨  
50 魂 混 混  
51 欣 隱 隱  
52 文 吻 問  
53 真 軫 軫  
54 諄 準 準  
55 臻 臻  
56 沒 沒  
57 迄 迄  
58 物 物  
59 質 質  
60 術 術  
61 櫛 櫛  
62 唐 蕩  
63 陽 養  
64 鐸 鐸  
65 藥 藥  
66 登 等  
67 蒸 拯  
68 德 德  
69 職 職  
70 庚 梗  
71 耕 耿  
72 清 靜

73 青 迥 徑  
74 陌 陌  
75 麥 麥  
76 昔 昔  
77 錫 錫  
78 江 講 絳  
79 覺 董 送  
80 東 董 送  
81 冬 冬 宋  
82 鍾 腫 用  
83 屋 屋  
84 沃 沃  
85 燭 燭  
86 模 姥 暮  
87 魚 語 御  
88 虞 慶 遇  
89 豪 皓 号  
90 肴 巧 効  
91 宵 小 笑  
92 蕭 篠 嘯  
93 侯 厚 候  
94 尤 有 宥  
" 幽 黝 幼

# APPENDIX B:

1. Chang-sun No-yen 2. Chang Tsuan 3. Chiang Hsien 4. Chiang Shih 5. Chiang Tsung 6. Chiang Yen 7. Chou Yung 8. Chung Jung. 9. Ho Sun 10. Hsia-hou Kai 11. Hsiao Hsia 12. Hsiao Kai 13. Hsiao Tzu-yün 14. Hsieh Chuang 15. Hsieh Kuei 16. Hsieh Ling-yün 17. Hsieh T'iao 18. Hsin Shu-tsu 19. Hsin Teh-yüan 20. Hsing Shao 21. Hsü Chün-ch'ien 22. Hsü Hsien-min 23. Hsü Ling 24. Hsü Miao 25. Hsüan Ying 26. Hsüeh Hsiao-t'ung 27. Hsüeh Tao-heng 28. Jen Ta-ch'un 29. Kūkai 30. Ku Yeh-wang 31. Li Chi-chieh 32. Li Fu 33. Li Hsieh 34. Li Jo 35. Li Kung-hsü 36. Li P'ing 37. Li Teng 38. Li Tsu-jen 39. Li Wei 40. Liu Ch'ang-tsung 41. Liu Chen 42. Liu Hsiao-wei 43. Liu Hsieh 44. Liu Hsien 45. Liu Shan-ching 46. Lu Ch'üung 47. Lu Chüeh 48. Lu Fa-yen 49. Lu Kuang 50. Lu Shuang 51. Lu Ssu-tao 52. Lu Teh-ming 53. Lü Ch'en 54. Lü Ching 55. P'an Hui 56. P'ei Wu-ch'i 57. Ryō Son 58. Shen Hung 59. Shen Yüeh 60. Sun Hsiang 61. Sun Mien 62. Sung Lien 63. T'ao Hung-ching 64. Tu Pi 65. Tu T'ai-ch'ing 66. Ts'ai Jung 67. Ts'ai Po-chieh 68. Tsu T'ing 69. Ts'ui Ling-en 70. Ts'ui Shan 71. Ts'ui Tzu-yüeh 72. Wang Chien 73. Wang Chung-hsüan 74. Wang Jen-hsü 75. Wang Jung 76. Wang Kuei 77. Wang Pao 78. Wang Seng-ju 79. Wang Ts'an 80. Wang Yün 81. Wei Chi-ching 82. Wei Luan 83. Wei Shou 84. Wei Yen-yüan 85. Wu Chün 86. Yang Hsiu-chih 87. Yang Ku 88. Yen Chih-t'ui 89. Yü Chien-wu 90. Yü Hsin.

1 長孫訥言 2 張纘 3 蔣顥 4 江式 5 江總 6 江淹 7 周顥 8 鍾嶸 9 何遜 10 夏侯該 11 蕭洽 12 蕭該 13 蕭子雲 14 謝莊 15 謝灵 16 謝靈運 17 謝朓 18 辛術族 19 辛德原 20 邢劭 21 徐君倩 22 徐仙氏 23 徐陵 24 徐邈 25 玄應 26 薛孝通 27 薛道衡 28 任大椿 29 空海 30 顧野王 31 李季節 32 李涪 33 李諧 34 李若 35 李公緒 36 李平 37 李登 38 李祖仁 39 李蔚 40 劉昌宗 41 劉臻 42 劉孝威 43 劉勰 44 劉顯 45 劉善經 46 陸卬 47 陸厥 48 陸法言 49 盧廣 50 陸爽 51 盧思道 52 陸德明 53 呂忱 54 呂靜 55 潘徽 56 裴務齊 57 了尊 58 神珙 59 沈約 60 孫詳 61 孫恂 62 宋濂 63 陶宏景 64 杜弼 65 杜臺卿 66 蔡邕 67 蔡伯喈 68 祖珽 69 崔靈思 70 崔瞻 71 崔子約 72 王儉 73 王仲宣 74 王仁昉 75 王融 76 王規 77 王褒 78 王僧孺 79 王粲 80 王筠 81 魏季景 82 魏鸞 83 魏收 84 魏彥淵 85 吳均 86 陽休之 87 陽固 88 顏之推 89 庾肩吾 90 庾信

# APPENDIX C:

1. Banshyō myōgi 2. Chan-kuo ts'e 3. Chao-ming t'ai-tzu ai-ts'e wen 4. Chiao-chū fu 5. Ch'ieh po-ming p'ien 6. Ch'ieh-yün 7. Ching-tien shih wen 8. Ch'iu-hsi t'an pai-fa 9. Chou-kuan yin 10. Erh-ya 11. Feng-shih wen-chien chi 12. Han-shu yin-yi 13. Ho Ching-ling wang ch'ao shu 14. Ho-sheng Chi-jen yu yüan 15. Hsien-shou shan 16. K'an miu pu ch'üeh Ch'ieh-yün 17. K'an wu 18. Ku-hung fu 19. Kuan wo sheng fu 20. Mao-shih yin 21. Mei-hua lo 22. Mi-lo tsan 23. Bunkyō hifuron 24. Mu t'ien-tzu chuan 25. San Ts'ang 26. Shang-ku chin-wen tzu-piao 27. Shao-nien hsin-hun 28. Sheng-lei 29. Shih chih Hsüan-ch'eng chün 30. Shih-p'in 31. Shittan rinryaku 32. Shou wen 33. Ssu-sheng lun 34. Ssu-sheng wu-yin chiu-nung fan-niu-t'u 35. Ssu-sheng yün-lüeh 36. Su Nan-chou p'u 37. Su Tung-yüan 38. Taisei shinshu taizōkyo 39. Tsai chün wo ping 40. Ts'ang Chieh hsün-ku 41. Tso-chuan yin 42. Ts'ung chün hsing 43. T'ung-su wen 44. Tzu-lin 45. Tzu-lin k'ao yi 46. Wen-hsin tiao lung 47. Wen-hsüan 48. Wen-hsüan yin-yi 49. Yen-shih chia-hsün 50. Yi-ch'ieh-ching yin-yi 51. Yin-p'u 52. Yü-chu pao-tien 53. Yü-p'ien 54. Yüan-ho hsin-sheng yün-p'u 55. Yün-chi 56. Yün-lüeh 57. Yün-tsu'an.

1 萬象名義 2 戰國策 3 昭明太子哀策文 4 郊居賦 5 妻  
薄命篇 6 切韻 7 經典釋文 8 秋夕歎白髮 9 周官音 10  
爾雅 11 封氏聞見記 12 漢書音義 13 和竟陵王抄書 14 何生  
姬人有怨 15 賢首山 16 刊謬補缺切韻 17 刊誤 18 孤鴻賦  
19 觀我生賦 20 毛氏音 21 梅花落 22 彌勒贊 23 文鏡秘府論  
24 穆天子傳 25 三蒼 26 上古今文字表 27 少年新婚 28 聲  
類 29 始之宣城郡 30 詩品 31 悉曇輪略 32 說文 33 四聲論  
34 四聲五音九弄反紐圖 35 四聲韻略 36 宿南洲浦 37 宿東  
園 38 大正新修大藏經 39 在郡卧病 40 蒼頡訓詁 41 左傳音  
42 從軍行 43 通俗文 44 字林 45 字林考逸 46 文心雕龍  
47 文選 48 文選音義 49 顏氏家訓 50 一切經音義 51 音譜  
52 玉燭寶典 53 玉篇 54 元和新聲韻譜 55 韻集 56 韻略 57  
韻纂

# APPENDIX D:

1. Chao Chen-to, "Ts'ung *Ch'ieh-yün* hsü lun *Ch'ieh-yün*", [A discussion of the *Ch'ieh-yün* on the basis of the *Ch'ieh-yün* preface], *Zhongguo Yuwen* 10 (1962), 467-476;
2. Ch'en Yin-ko, "Ts'ung shih-shih lun *Ch'ieh-yün*", [The *Ch'ieh-yün* problem in the light of historical reality], *Ling-nan hsüeh-pao* 9 (1949), 1-18;
3. Ch'en Yin-ko, "Tung Chin Nan-ch'ao chih Wu-yü", (A historical study of the Wu dialect circa 317-589 A.D.), *Academia Sinica, Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, vol. 7, Part 1., (1936), 1-4;
4. Chiang Liang-fu, *Ying-ya Tun-huang yün-chi*, [Compilation of *Ch'ieh-yün* fragments from Tun-huang], 24 *chüan*, Shanghai 1955;
5. Chou Tsu-mo, "*Yen-shih chia-hsün* yin-tz'u-p'ien chu pu", ("Commentary on the chapter on phonetics in the *Yen Shih Chia Hsün*"), *Fu Jen Hsüeh Chih* 11 (1942), 201-220; also in Chou Tsu-mo, *Han-yü yin-yün lun-wen chi* [Collection of essays on Chinese phonology], Shanghai 1957, pp. 75-88; also in Chou Tsu-mo, *Wen-hsüeh chi* [Collection of learned essays], Peking 1966, pp. 405-433;
6. Chou Tsu-mo, "*Banshyō myōgi* chung chih yüan-pen *Yü-p'ien* yin-hsi", [The phonological system of the original *Yü-p'ien*, as found in the *Banshyō myōgi*], in Chou Tsu-mo, *Wen-hsüeh chi* [Collection of learned essays], Peking 1966, pp. 270-404;
7. Chou Tsu-mo, "T'ang Wu-tai yün-shu chi ts'un", [Collected fragments of rime books from the T'ang and the Five Dynasties];
8. Chou Tsu-mo, "*Ch'ieh-yün* yü Wu-yin", [On the *Ch'ieh-yün* and the Wu dialect], in Chou Tsu-mo, *Wen-hsüeh chi* [Collection of learned essays], Peking 1966, pp. 474-482;
9. Huang Ts'ui-po, "Kuan-yü *Ch'ieh-yün* yin-hsi chi-ch'u ti wen-t'i", [On the problem of the foundation of the phonological system of the *Ch'ieh-yün*], *Zhongguo Yuwen* 2 (1962), 85-90;
10. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and Chou Tsu-mo, *Han Wei Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao yün-pu yen-pien yen-chiu*, [Studies on the development of rime categories during the Han, the Wei, the Chin and the Nan-pei-ch'ao], Vol. I, Peking 1958;
11. Wang Hsien, "*Ch'ieh-yün* ti ming-ming ho *Ch'ieh-yün* ti hsing-chih", [On the name and the nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün*], *Zhongguo Yuwen* 4 (1961), 16-25.

1 趙振鐸 從切韻序論切韻 2 陳寅恪 從史實論切韻 3 陳寅恪 東晉南朝之吳語 4 姜亮夫 藏滬敦煌韻輯 5 周祖謨 顏氏家訓音辭篇注補 6 周祖謨 萬象名義中之原本玉篇音系 7 周祖謨 唐五代韻書集存 8 周祖謨 切韻與吳音 9 黃淬伯 關於切韻音系基礎的問題 10 羅常培, 周祖謨 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究 11 王顯 切韻的命名和切韻的性質

# EARLY CHINESE MIRRORS

## CLASSIFICATION SCHEME RECAPITULATED

BY

*BERNHARD KARLGREN*

In Bulletin 13, 1941, I published a work "Huai and Han" (henceforth referred to as HH), in which a typological and chronological classification was attempted of early Chinese bronze mirrors, from the beginning of the Huai-style period down to circa A.D. 100. Since that edition has been exhausted for many years and since there is a constant demand for it from students and collectors, it has seemed advisable to re-edit the work in order to meet this demand. Two reasons combine to make such a new edition desirable. The plates in the 1941 edition were in part technically far from satisfactory; and new materials have been brought to light, which can furnish useful complements.<sup>1)</sup>

The mirrors have been divided into eleven groups on the basis of typological and stylistic criteria. The chronological sequence of these groups will be briefly indicated in the following paragraphs. To repeat here the extensive and detailed investigation with historical, epigraphical and stylistic arguments given in HH (125 pages) is, of course, out of the question. A short summary, with references to the HH, will have to suffice.

First, however, some epigraphical data. There are four groups (F, J, K, L) in which the mirrors carry decorative inscriptions. These are all in Han-time script and attribute these groups to the Han era. One of them can be dated with great certainty: group L. This group comprises numerous specimens the inscriptions on which date them in Wang Mang's time (A.D. 9-23) since they speak of Sin "the New House": "The New House has good copper, it comes from Tan-yang . . .". The class comprises, however, a great many quite similar specimens referring to the Han: "Han has good copper, it comes from Tan-yang . . .". And it is an important question whether the latter group already existed before Wang Mang and his artisans imitated them and altered "Han" into "Sin", or whether the "Sin" mirrors were the first and the Eastern Han artisans altered "Sin" into "Han". The former can be conclusively proved to be correct. Both groups of inscriptions contain phrases like: "Si Y i fu the Barbarians of the four quarters have submitted" and "Hu lu t'ien mie the Hu slaves are destroyed". These formulas could be plausible during the period of the first great Chinese victories in Northern and Central Asia (roughly 100-80 B.C.) but they could certainly not have been created in the period of political impotence and decay in Wang Mang's time—their occurrence on the

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<sup>1)</sup> Some of these newly found mirrors were described and discussed in an article: B. Karlgren, *Some pre-Han Mirrors*, BMFEA 35, 1963.

Wang Mang mirrors is a thoughtless repetition by routine. Thus the category L may be safely dated 1st c. B.C.–1st c. A.D. (for full details see HH pp. 18–20).

The script forms during the Han dynasty are well known from numerous dated inscriptions. There is an important distinction between pure Small Seal script and what may be called “modernized Small Seal”; this latter gained ground and gradually superseded the pure Small Seal from ca. 100 B.C. and onwards. The inscriptions in cat. L are all in this modernized Small Seal, whereas those on the mirrors of cat. F are all in pure Small Seal (for an extensive discussion of these epigraphical questions see HH pp. 16, 17, 21–25). Since this tallies with the fact that cat. F has various stylistic features clearly earlier than cat. L—as will be shown below—cat. F can be dated in the 2nd century B.C. It cannot be earlier, for though the Small Seal was largely based on the script current in the Ts’in state in the 4th–3rd c. B.C., it was standardized and made regular and neat through the script reform of 221–213 B.C. and the F inscriptions are all in this standardized execution. Moreover, as will be shown below, cat. F had its centre in the Shou-hien (earlier called Shou-chou) region in Anhwei, one of the great centres of the Ch’u kingdom, which state would never have adopted the script of its arch-foe Ts’in. And we know the Ch’u script, which was quite different (see HH p. 17 and the Pl. 1:3 there).

The groups J and K have inscriptions in what may be called “Stylized Small Seal”. The graphs are often made square and given small, fanciful modifications which make them artistically attractive. This script, however, is quite different from the “Modernized Small Seal” of the cat. L and, as we shall see, these groups J and K (and the very similar cat. H) all have features which place them earlier than the cat. L: they date in the 2nd c. B.C.

All the other categories, A–E and G, lack inscriptions, and for other reasons, given below, they can be determined to be of pre-Han date (the Huai-style period).

Before we give a short analysis of the eleven categories a few words should be said about size, knobs and rims. The mirror of the youngest group, cat. L, is mostly large and heavy, the metal often whiter than in the pre-Han categories, it has a broad, flat rim thicker than the central field and mostly geometrically decorated, it has a big, hemispherical smooth knob. In contrast to this, in all the categories A–K, i.e. early mirrors down to ca. 100 B.C., there are (with few exceptions) thin mirrors with small knobs, the latter often fluted. In A–K the outer edge is more varied. Sometimes the disc goes out to the periphery without any special rim. If there is a special rim, this is either a thin, flat rim or a concave rim. In the latter case the inner part of the rim is concave and the outer part is comparatively low and flat; or, the inner part being concave, the outer part runs up to a considerable height, forming a ridge which, again, may be flat or sharp at the top.

In HH the individual mirrors adduced have all been described and analysed in detail. These extensive descriptions cannot be repeated here but only some summary notes can be given on the principal features of the groups, particularly those which have a bearing on the dating.



### Category A

We know from a text that mirrors, carried in the girdle, were already in use in the 7th century B.C. (Tso chuan: Chuang 21, 673 B.C.), and allowing for some time for primitive and simple first attempts we have no reason for doubting the existence of artistically ripe specimens at least in the 6th century. Cat. A shows some mirrors (four of them described in detail in HH) which certainly represent a very early stage in the history of the Chinese mirror. They are too few to make a precise classification possible, but features of a clearly early character are: the coarse lei-wen in the background of A1; the high relief in A1 and A3; the tiny interlaced dragons in A2; the cowrie band in A2 and A4; the loosely twisted strings in A2 and A4; the filling of the bands which form the dragon bodies etc. in A5-A7, A10; the "warts" in A2 and (originally filled with inlay) in A9, A10; the plastically rounded dragon bodies in A8.—6th century B.C.

### Category B

This is a group that hails from the Lo-yang region. The specimens are (as in cat. A) too few for a sure dating but there are indicia for an early date (a detailed analysis in HH pp. 40, 41). Some of them have as décor two t'aot'ie figures opposite each other and turned outwards, with comma-shaped emphasized points and realistic claws; on the other sides claws suggesting two more t'aot'ie outside the range of the décor field. The t'aot'ie, ubiquitous in the Yin and early Chou art, became obsolete in the middle-Chou style but it was revived in the Huai style, from its very beginning. Our t'aot'ie here are of a quite early type within the Huai style, compared with the elegant and often playfully embellished t'aot'ie—for instance on bells and on handles or other parts of many Huai-style bronzes. Early features are, further (cf. cat. A above), the flat rim and the very small central field or even the total absence of such a field; 6th-5th centuries.

### Category C

The custom of decorating mirrors with inscriptions arose, as described above, in early Han time (2nd c. B.C.) and mirrors with inscriptions in pre-Han script are unknown. The large cat. C has regularly an inner circular or square band of exactly the same nature as the inscribed Han mirrors, and this band is just as well suited for an inscription as that of the latter, but it is always bare, which already suggests a pre-Han date.

A more decisive proof of the pre-Han date is, however, the background pattern. Cat. C comprises a large number of mirrors of various types, certainly covering a long period of time; they all have this in common that the background décor is the "comma pattern" or patterns closely akin to it. This important feature is well attested by well-known pre-Han finds (Kin-ts'un, Li-yü, Cheng-chou, Sin-cheng) and it is particularly proved by inscribed bronzes to have been a leading characteristic of the Huai style, all from the 6th down to the end of the 3rd c. B.C. But

it became obsolete with the end of that century and did not survive into Han-time art. (For the origin and history of the comma pattern see a full account in HH pp. 31-33, 37, 38).

The comma figures in cat. C are mostly striped, rarely adorned with volute-and-angle figures and they stand out against a granulated ground. These latter two elements cannot contribute to the dating, for both volute-and-angle figures and granulation filling of surfaces occur both in the Huai art (all from the earliest part) and in the Han art (even Eastern Han).

Among the elements of the principal décor there are three that are of a special importance: the Slanting T's, the Zigzag lozenge and the Quatrefoil.

The slanting T's are interesting in so far that they show an influence from another category, the mirrors of cat. D below. Our cat. C had its great centre in the regions of Shou-hien and Ch'ang-sha (Anhui and Hunan), i.e. the ancient Ch'u state, whereas the cat. D had its centre in the region of Lo-yang and Honan generally, particularly the ancient Han state. For this important distinction see full data in HH (pp. 13-15, 55, 56, 70, 71, 89, 106). In the following we shall use, for brevity's sake, the terms "Shou-hien categories" and "Lo-yang categories", these "Shou-hien" and "Lo-yang" standing as *pars pro toto*.

In cat. D there occurs frequently, as background pattern, the Interlocked T's, an ancient element from the Yin B-style revived in the Huai style. In that pattern the T's had a fixed position, demanding that a T stem should always be parallel either to another stem or to a top stroke (which in its turn forms the stem in a new T). Here, in cat. C, the striking T figures, borrowed from the backgrounds in cat. D and now placed as a theme in the principal décor, are detached from their continuous interlocked scheme and freely placed in a ring around the central band.

The Interlocked T's are a motif which has not survived into Han-time art, nor have the Slanting T's; they never recur in the mirror groups which by their inscriptions are attested to be Han categories.

The Zigzag lozenge, either regular, closed and symmetrical or open and deformed plays an important role in the mirror décor schemes. Here, in cat. C, we have only the former. Like the Slanting T's above it is a loan from cat. D. There, a continuous pattern of these Zigzag lozenges form a background pattern (e.g. D3). Here, in C, the lozenges have been detached, promoted into the principal décor and placed in a ring round the central band. They are in this respect a perfect parallel to the Slanting T's above. The central band is in a few cases adorned with projections which turn it into a "pointed star"; this is certainly likewise a loan from the Lo-yang cat. D, where such pointed stars are common.

The regular, closed Zigzag lozenge has been taken over by the Han-time art (e.g. on the textiles of Noin-ula), but it is not frequent there and it does not recur in the Han mirror categories F, H, J, K, L below.

The Quatrefoil is a favourite motif both in Huai and in Han art; it has been thoroughly studied by Bo Gyllensvärd (BMFEA 34, 1962). The quatrefoil has undergone a long evolution, the petals ranging from very simple and realistic pictures to weirdly stylized and deformed figures

In our cat. C the petals are mostly quite simple and primary and corruption has not gone further than to occasionally occurring cases of the type "petal with "ear-flaps" (C24). This fact is, again, chronologically, significant, for the following more strongly deformed shapes occur exclusively in the later categories.

On the mirrors of cat. C there is, as a rule, a bare central field, mostly quite small, surrounded by round or square decorative bands. These bands as well as the rim are often set off by a narrow ledge or by a raised line (thread). The rim is flat in a few early specimens, but for the rest there is always a concave rim, which in most cases curves up to a more or less high ridge, often even a sharp edge.

*α. First sub-group (C1–C15):*

Mirrors with nothing but a comma-pattern in the principal décor zone (some of them with flat rim, some with concave). Since we know from a text that mirrors already existed in the 7th century B.C. and since we know ritual bronzes with comma-patterned décor dated in the 6th century, we have reason to date the flat-rimmed specimens (most close to the early types in categories A and B) in the 6th–5th c., those with concave rim in the 5th century.

*β. Second sub-group (C16–C27):*

The first step in the evolution from the primary type above is the adornment of the central field or band with a simple quatrefoil. This is continued by elaborating the quatrefoil from small and modest types to large, elaborate ones, sometimes extending through the whole décor field. This extension could be achieved by adding a "stalk" to the apex of the petal and letting this "stalk" end in a new petal. This development took place in the lapse of the 4th century B.C.

*γ. Third sub-group (C32–C47; C55, 56):*

Alternating and parallel with the evolution described under  $\beta$  there was another development. The primary  $\alpha$  type could be embellished with the Slanting T's borrowed from the Lo-yang cat. D. They were applied across a comma-pattern background, sometimes connected by their ledges so as to form a six-pointed or five-pointed star. This first step could easily be combined with the quatrefoil embellishment, and just as in the  $\beta$  group the petals could be elongated into "stalks" and secondary petals. Sometimes beautifully drawn and realistic animals (C55) could be inserted instead. The whole of this evolution likewise took place during the 4th century B.C.

*δ. Fourth sub-group (C57–C68):*

Alternating and parallel with the developments under  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  there was a third way of elaborating the primary  $\alpha$  type into higher artistic perfection. Instead of working with quatrefoils ( $\beta$ ) or slanting T's ( $\gamma$ ), or both, the artist filled the décor field with animal figures to the number of four, placed in a ring round the central band, just as in cat. D, as we shall witness later. The technique was a flat relief

(as in cat. D) but soon passed on to low, flat sheets delimited by raised edges. The central band was sometimes adorned with an unobtrusive pointed star (as in cat. D). This, again, was a group dating from the 4th century B.C.

The richly varied ideas of that era, summarized under  $\alpha$ - $\delta$ , were followed up, further developed and sometimes brought to a decadent stage in the following century.

*ε. Fifth sub-group (C28–C31):*

The themes of this sub-group are either further embellished, notably by the curious “flail-like” figure on top of the outer petal, or the whole disposition of the disc undergoes a change. The fundamental principle that the whole décor should be grouped around the central field and band as a dominating centre is largely given up by developing the peripheral elements into independent quatrefoils, competing with the central one; the whole field becomes more like a continuous carpet pattern. 3rd century B.C.

*ζ. Sixth sub-group (C48–C54):*

The themes of the third subgroup are developed further, quite parallel to what we witnessed under  $\epsilon$  above: the embellishments were exaggerated, the décor overloaded, the “flails” were added on top of the outer petals, new sets of petals were added in the interstices and joined through curving bands, and peripheral quatrefoils cropped up. 3rd century B.C.

*η. Seventh sub-group (C69–C79):*

The motifs of the  $\delta$  group—birds, dragons and other fantastic animals—were stylized and deformed so that for instance the birds became practically unrecognizable. The quatrefoil petals cropped up weirdly worked into the remnants of the corrupted bird figures. 3rd century B.C.

*θ. Eighth sub-group (C80–C85):*

A small number of mirrors have borrowed from the D group not the Slanting T's but the Zigzag lozenges, and placed the latter as principal décor elements in a ring round the central band; in some cases this motif has been considerably deformed. That this sub-group is late is proved by the peripheral quatrefoils that often adorn it. 3rd century B.C.

An extensive investigation and argumentation on the subject of the chronology briefly indicated under  $\alpha$ - $\eta$  above was given in HH pp. 54–61.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> There are some features in cat. C which cannot be analysed here, particularly in the execution of the various animal figures; they were studied and interpreted in detail in HH. Observe further cases like C21 which instead of a comma-pattern has a plait-pattern for background but for the rest plainly belongs to our category here; C58 on which the “stalk” ends with a “trident-like” figure; C73 which has a bare background but for the rest is closely akin to some specimens in our group; C42 on which the centre of the quatrefoil has been exaggerated and forms a large raised circle; etc.

## Category D

As already stated above, this group has its centre in the Lo-yang (Honan) region with slight extensions into other provinces.

In this category there are no instances of the primary flat rim. Either the décor zone is delimited by a star-shaped line and the remaining surface runs out flat to the edge; or there is a concave rim with the outer part flat and low, not (as in cat. C) forming a high ridge or a sharp edge. The contrast between mirrors with star-shaped margin and those with circular décor zone and rim has no bearing on the dating, since these types are synonymous and contemporaneous: D6 (star-shaped margin) and D5 (circular décor zone and rim) have exactly the same vivid and primary dragon figures and the same background (Interlocked T's).

In this category, just as in cat. C above, there are regularly central round or square bands, which would be just as suitable for inscriptions as those in the inscribed Han categories, but there is never any inscription, which already suggests a pre-Han date. This is confirmed by the background patterns:

a. Interlocked T's. It has already been stated that this motif did not survive into Han time.

b. Zigzag lozenges (filled with volute-and-angle figures) bordered by bands with granulation lines as filling. Such bands are a Huai-style element attested through bronze vessels datable by inscriptions as having existed from the very earliest Huai period, 7th–6th c. B.C. (see HH p. 28), but such bands did not survive into Han time.

c. Ordinary lozenges (with only lines for sides) and filled with spirals (often S-shaped) and granulation. These are quite synonymous and interchangeable with the backgrounds a. and b. above: D31 (background c) is in all respects except background, exactly identical with D33 (background b) etc. (for details see HH p. 71). In the Han categories which have geometrical background patterns there is never the background c.

d. Volute-and-angle figures. This motif is common both in Huai and Han art, but the mirrors in cat. D with this background are closely allied in all other respects to specimens with the preceding types of background.

The entire cat. D is thus clearly pre-Han.

A salient feature in the cat. D is the animal décor. The great majority of its specimens are characterized by beautifully placed and exquisitely drawn animal figures, quadrupeds, dragons, bird-dragons, birds. The distinctions observable in their representation facilitate a classification.

### *α. First sub-group (D1–D18):*

This group comprises, on the one hand, a series of specimens with dragons or other animals that are fairly "realistic", not too violently stylized or deformed (D1–D12) (clear, well-drawn heads, hind-parts, legs); on the other hand, a series

(D13–D18) with dragon figures that are more stylized (bodies weirdly formed, tails or wings drawn out into long symmetrical loops etc.)—for a detailed analysis see HH p. 63–65. This latter series is obviously younger than the first, but the two are closely akin; together they must have occupied a considerable period.

A good dating is given by the background patterns. In the first series we find the best and most primary forms of the Interlocked T's background (D5).

Now we have seen that in the Shou-hien cat. C the slanting T's, which cannot have grown out of the bottom décor of that class, must be a loan from our cat. D here: from their position in the Loyang cat. D as continuous background figures they have been singled out by the Shou-hien artists and "promoted" to be a motif in the principal décor. The primary groups with slanting T's in the C category have been dated above—quite independently of the chronology in the cat. D here—in the 4th century B.C. because they occupy a relatively early place in the evolution chain in cat. C. The loan-giver, the Lo-yang cat. D, must then already have possessed mirrors with the Interlocked T's background early in the 4th century. Our first subgroup (D1–D18), typologically the most primary among the D mirrors with Interlocked T's, must evidently be placed in the 4th century, probably extending over the major part of that period, since there are such stylistic developments as from D1–12 to D13–18. On the other hand, we dare not place them earlier, since there are no instances whatever of the primitive flat rim (6th–5th c.), so well attested in categories A–C.

Observe that in our sub-group  $\alpha$  here there is, besides the Interlocked T's background, also the granulation-bordered zigzag lozenges as background. But in this first sub-group,  $\alpha$ , the zigzag lozenge has not yet been "promoted" into a motif of the principal décor, raised above the background. And the third background pattern (c), ordinary lozenges filled with spirals and granulation, had not yet made its appearance.

#### *$\beta$ . Second sub-group (D19–D29):*

There is first a series of mirrors which are closely akin to some types in sub-group  $\alpha$  (e.g. D17) but which besides the animal figures have large quatrefoils (D19–D22). This need not in itself indicate a later date (in the Shou-hien cat. C the quatrefoil flourished in the 4th c., as shown above), but the petals here in D  $\beta$  are very baroque, fat and with swelling curves, very unlike the simple 4th century petals in cat. C. Moreover, among these specimens there crops up for the first time the background pattern c., lozenges with spirals and granulation, which is lacking in sub-group  $\alpha$ . Another series (D23–D26), one specimen of which has the same bulbous petals has, in contrast to the "regular" dragons in sub-group  $\alpha$ , bird-dragons in several variants (for details see HH p. 78). One more series of mirrors (D27–D29), which besides ordinary dragons, quadrupeds and birds also has bird-dragons, possesses large figures in broad bands running through the décor zone, which fundamentally are sophisticated variations of large quatrefoil petals. The whole subgroup is obviously more advanced than sub-group  $\alpha$ , with several important novelties, and it has to be dated in the 3rd century.

*γ. Third sub-group (D30–D40):*

This comprises mirrors with the zigzag lozenge raised to form an independent element of the principal décor (this occurred also in cat. C, eighth sub-group, and could there be proved to be a late phenomenon, of the 3rd c. B.C.). They all have bird-dragons or birds as the animal feature of the design (the same advanced feature as in sub-group β). The backgrounds have (alternating with Interlocked T's and granulation-bordered zigzag lozenges) some cases of (type c. background:) ordinary lozenges with spirals and granulation filling, which did not occur in the 4th century sub-group α. Finally, some of the specimens have, on the star-shaped central band, petals, either single, long and pointed or drawn-out on long "stalks". One of them (D37) has a "calyx"-like figure, cf. sub-group δ below. All these advanced features combine to date sub-group γ late: 3rd century B.C.

*δ. Fourth sub-group (D41–D49, D52):*

This group comprises mirror types which have no animal representations, as have the majority of the D class, but which form an important part of the Lo-yang group. They show various late features: the harp-shaped or "calyx"-like figure (cf. D37 in gr. γ above); the same elongated and pointed petals as in sub-group γ (observe here in some cases the granulation-lined border, a pre-Han criterion); the peripherically placed quatrefoils (occurring also in cat. C and there shown to be a late phenomenon of the 3rd century); background (besides granulation-bordered zigzag lozenges; no Interlocked T's) with simple lozenges with spirals and granulation (type c.) and volute-and-angle figures (type d.), types that do not occur in the 4th century sub-group α.

This subgroup δ evidently dates late in the 3rd century B.C.<sup>1)</sup>

### Category E

Like the large cat. C above, cat. E is a class that has its centre in the Ch'u state, what has been called here a Shou-hien group. The same is true of the following cat. F, which by its inscribed specimens has been determined above as being an early Han-time class, dating in the 2nd century B.C. The categories E and F are very closely akin—so much so that they have often been taken to form one class—but, as will be demonstrated below, they are, after all, contrasting on many essential points. Yet it is evident that they must be very close in time, and cat. E is clearly posterior to cat. C. It differs from the latter in many respects, inter alia by various innovations unknown also in the large cat. D above. In cat. E the central band is always round, never square as often in cats. C and D, nor, as a rule, star-shaped, as often in cat. D. It is generally larger (lies farther out) than in those classes and it is often set off against the principal décor zone in a new fashion: a raised line

<sup>1)</sup> Some unusual and in part aberrant types are recorded. D50 is on the whole a D-class mirror but with the sharp-edged concave rim of the C class; D51 has an unusual application of the zigzag lozenge motif; D53 has a unique background pattern akin to the comma pattern.

is added outside the band and the space between is filled with slanting strokes (rope pattern). In the same way the rim is often set off against the décor zone (quite exceptionally this feature occurs in D21).

The principal décor in cat. E consists of rows of dragons with all kinds of arabesque-like embellishments. They are placed either antithetically, in pairs, or consecutively round the décor zone. They are often too complicated to be easily grasped and we have therefore given skeleton drawings of a selection of dragon types in classes E and F.

The dragon and bird representations differ widely in shape from those in C and D. The animals are furthermore executed in low, flat relief (very similar to that in cat. D, of pre-Han age): more or less broad, flat bands, whole and undivided. They differ radically from the technique in cat. C, which has the animals in thread relief, often double-lined.

The zigzag lozenge proper, closed and symmetrical, which existed as the principal décor feature in a 3rd century phase of cats. C, and D as described above, does not exist in cat. E, but the corrupted, open version of it now appears, for the first time, in our E class, worked into the dragon pictures, at the tail or other parts of the animal's body.

The quatrefoil petals occur in cat. E not only in its more or less naturally executed leaf shape but also in the "bud-like" version. Cat. C had only leaf-like petals and "ear-flap" petals, and the "bud-like" petals constitute a further step in the deformation of this motif.

Most important are, finally, the background patterns. The comma pattern, which characterized the whole large Shou-hien cat. C, has been rejected in the Shou-hien cat. E. This category has two patterns: lozenges with spiral and granulation filling and volute-and-angle pattern. Both these patterns existed in 3rd century groups in the Lo-yang cat. D, but they were entirely unknown in cat. C.

Thus the large Shou-hien cat. C which, as we have seen, ranges from the 5th to the 3rd centuries, has been ousted, in the very Ch'u state, by the new style of the E class; and since the latter, moreover, shows striking influences from 3rd century groups within the Lo-yang cat. D (flat relief in the animal figures and D-type background patterns), it dates in the later half of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>1)</sup>

### Category F

This Shou-hien class, of the 2nd century B.C., is closely cognate to the Shou-hien class E above: the same types of dragon pictures and the same placing of them, the same large, round central band in a large sub-group, the same addition in many cases of extra lines at this band and the rim, with a filling-in of rope pattern, the same deformed zigzag lozenges attached to the dragons. But the cat. F shows, on the other hand, many characteristics contrasting with those of the E class, some of them innovations unknown in the pre-Han categories.

In the technique of the animal representations cat. F is syncretistic in that it

<sup>1)</sup> Here, as in the preceding categories, there are stray instances with irregular and aberrant features, for instance the star-shaped marginal band in E1-E3; hook-like embellishments on the petals in E8; inside star-shape and two loosely twisted strings in the central band in E44.



employs, now the thread relief of cat. C (F1–F23), now the flat relief of cat E (F24–F48) (which fact makes us suspect that cat. C lingered on, so that cats. C and E coexisted under competition in the latter part of the 3rd century)—those with flat relief are carried to cat. F because of other criteria, defined below.

The principal lines in the dragon bodies and their appendices in cat. E are never divided into two, they are more or less broad, flat bands, whole and undivided. In cat. F as a rule all or at least some of the principal lines in the drawings are divided into two (rarely three) parallel lines. This is true not only on the mirrors with thread relief but also on a majority of those with flat relief. (The few specimens without this cleaving are exactly congruous in other respects with those that have it and hence are placed in cat. F).

The clean bands in the figures in cat. E are sparsely embellished with small petals, wing-like hooks etc. In cat. F this idea has grown into a system of overloaded embellishments: hooks, curls and volutes on the lines are crowded and often form veritable rows of curls, what I have called “the Han curl border”. It is true that a tendency to such “curl borders” can sometimes be observed on Huai-style artifacts (for instance on agraffes), but only rarely and hesitantly. The “curl border” came into full swing only in the Han dynasty (see in detail HH p. 98). (This feature places specimens like F24, 27–29, 38, 40 in our cat. F).

In the deformation of the quatrefoil petal cat. E has not come further than to the “bud-like” type, and it has many instances of the more natural leaf-like type. Cat. F has gone one step further in the deformation: to the “brush-like” petal, and it has rejected both the leaf-like and the “bud-like” types.

In cat. E there is frequently the background pattern “lozenges with spiral and granulation filling”. This is rejected in cat. F and here there crops up in many instances another pattern: “converging groups of parallel lines (e.g. F19), a pattern unknown in pre-Han categories.

On the cat. E mirrors there are never inscriptions though its central bands are just as well suited for texts as those in cat. F, where inscriptions are very common.

In cat. F there is a large sub-group with square central band, which has no counterpart in cat. E. This F sub-group has the TLV feature which is entirely unknown in all the pre-Han classes A–E.

Finally, and very important: there is a fundamental and deep contrast between the two categories. In cat. E the décor zone is generally, it is true, well filled up with the lively dragon figures but it is never overloaded, never really crowded. In cat. F there is a marked tendency to cram the whole zone as full as possible; it is less natural, free and “airy”, artistically less clean and sober than in cat. E. There are, of course, various degrees, but the majority of the specimens in cat. F are decidedly overloaded.

Our conclusion is this: cat. E was the last great creation of a new style in teh Ch’u state in the latter part of the 3rd century. In early Han time, 2nd c. B.C., cat. F, closely affinited with the preceding cat. E but unlike it on many important points, dominated in the Shou-hien region which, as we well know, during the whole of that century formed a cultural centre of its own.

### Category G

This category brings us back to pre-Han times. The first sub-group (G1-G14) is cognate to cat. D; for G1-12 cf. D10, 17, 19, though the star-shaped bands (smooth, bare, slightly concave bands, in the technique common in cat. C) are simpler than in the Lo-yang D specimens, and the rims have the concave type (except for G12). For G13, 14 cf. D16, 37, 39, 40. The background pattern sometimes consists of volute-and-angle figures, appearing earliest in the 3rd century in cats. D and C; sometimes lozenges with spirals and granulation just as in 3rd century sub-groups of cat. D (this pattern did not survive into Han time). For sub-group G15-19, décor: volute and angle figures, cf. G9, 10 (minus the star-shape).

Of the complicated animal figures etc. in the first sub-group a detailed analysis was given in HH pp. 104-106.

Cat. G dates in the 3rd century B.C.

### Category H

This category is a debased continuation of cat. F. It is represented both in the Shou-hien and the Lo-yang regions. The metal in the mirrors is mostly much whiter than in the E and F classes. The small and fluted knob and the concave rim, often with a sharp edge, forbid a dating later than the 2nd century B.C.

### Category J

This category, which belongs to both the Shou-hien and the Lo-yang regions, has knob, rim and white metal as in cat. H above. It has various characteristics in common with cat. F: often double-lined figures in thread relief; often the background pattern converging groups of parallel lines; often square central band. But at the same time it has now and then reminiscences of other earlier classes: peripherically placed quatrefoils (J13), common in cats. C and D; the star-shaped margin, rare in cat. F but common in cat. D, though here in cat. J placed inside a concave rim, with a strong thickening of the parts outside the arches.

This latter feature is an innovation and there are several others:

Frequently a background with volutes, or volutes and (curved or straight) parallel lines;

The décor zone divided into four sections by small hemispherical bosses, sometimes placed on a circular concave band (on J1 circles filled with spirals);

The dragon figures frequently corrupted into compound figures of C curves, sometimes reduced to simple S figures;

In some instances (J25) the quatrefoil petal turned into its latest and most corrupted form, reminiscent of the representations of "Scales" in the earlier bronze art;

Inscriptions in the "stylized Small Seal" script.

The small, fluted knob and the concave rim etc. place cat. J earlier than cat. L. It dates in the 2nd century B.C.

### Category K

This category, closely akin to the preceding cat. J, differs from it in several respects:

Whereas the star-shaped margin in cat. J is placed inside a concave rim, here in cat. K there is no such rim; the star-points reach the margin, as in the pre-Han cat. D, but in contrast to the thin margin in cat. D here in cat. K the bows outside the arches are raised into a higher plane (thickened):

The background is often quite bare;

The quatrefoil petals, mostly in the "Scale-like" shape, often appear in pairs;

When there are dragon figures, they are not reduced to combined C-curves or S-curves as in cat. J but they are more elaborate and fanciful;

There are some cases of the TLV arrangement;

In some instances animal figures are worked into the knobs.

For further details see HH pp. 111-113.

Some very simple types: K 14, 15-17 are appended to this class because of their small fluted knob and inscriptions in pure or stylized Small Seal.

A few specimens: K 11-13, though closely akin types to K 9, 10 show by their larger, hemispherical knobs some affinity to cat. L; they are transitional cases of the early 1st century B.C.

For the rest cat. K dates in the 2nd century B.C.

### Category L

Our specimens of this class have been adduced only for the purpose of determining by epigraphical and typological data (as described in our introductory paragraphs above) a chronological terminus for the categories F, H, J, K. The L-type mirrors will not be further investigated here. As a class they date, as shown above, in the 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D.

## List of Illustrations

The owners of the specimens are here recorded only where public collections are concerned (His Majesty's included). For the rest see the list in HH.

### Abbreviations:

HM=His Majesty King Gustav VI Adolf.  
 MF=The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.  
 Berlin=Staatl. Museen, Berlin.  
 Hallwyl=The Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm.  
 Fogg=Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.  
 Malmö=The Malmö Museum, Malmö.  
 Ontario=Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.  
 Hunan=Hu nan ch'u t'u t'ung king t'u lu.  
 Kanizen=S. Umehara, Kanizen no Kokyō no Kenkyū.  
 Rakuyō=S. Umehara, Rakuyō Kinson Kōbō Shūei.  
 Seikwa=S. Umehara, Shina Kodō Seikwa.  
 T'u lu=Lo Chen-yü, Ku king t'u lu.  
 Yen k'u=Liang Shang-ch'un, Yen k'u ts'ang king.

### 6th c. B.C.:

A 1. HM	A 2. HM	A 3. HM
A 4. Hallwyl	A 5.	A 6. Seikwa 7
A 7. Seikwa 2	A 8. MF	A 9. Berlin

### 6th or 5th c. B.C.:

B 1. HM	B 2.	B 3. MF
B 4. Ontario	B 5. MF	

### 6th or 5th c. B.C.:

C 1.	C 2. MF	C 4. MF
C 6. Berlin	C 7. HM	C 8. MF
C 10. MF	C 11. HM	C 12. Hallwyl
C 13. Ontario		

### 5th c. B.C.:

C 14.	C 14a. Hunan 5	C 15. Berlin
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### 4th c. B.C.:

C 16. HM	C 17. MF	C 19. Berlin
C 20.	C 21. HM	C 22. MF
C 23. Berlin	C 23a. HM	C 24. Malmö
C 25. MF	C 26. MF	C 27. MF

3rd c. B.C.:

C28. HM  
C30. HM

C29. Ku king ying  
C31. Kanizen 12

C29a. Hunan 12

4th c. B.C.:

C32. HM  
C35. HM  
C38. MF  
C41. MF  
C45. HM

C33.  
C36. Yenku'u 24  
C39. HM  
C42. Hallwyl  
C46. MF

C34. HM  
C37. Berlin  
C40. HM  
C43. Seikwa 20  
C47. MF

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C48.  
C51. HM  
C53. Ku king ying 10

C49. HM  
C51a.  
C54. Seikwa 19

C50. MF  
C52. Yenku'u 53

4th c. B.C.:

C55. MF  
C58. HM  
C60.  
C64. HM  
C67. Kanizen 14

C56. HM  
C58a. MF  
C61.  
C65. Yenku'u 30  
C68. MF

C57. Kanizen 11  
C59.  
C63. HM  
C66.

3rd c. B.C.:

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C71a.  
C74. Yenku'u 33  
C77. HM  
C80. HM  
C84. Fogg

C70.  
C72. Seikwa 18  
C75. MF  
C78. HM  
C82. HM  
C85. HM

C71. HM  
C73. HM  
C76. HM  
C79. HM  
C83.

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D8.  
D11.  
D14.  
D17. MF

D2. HM  
D6.  
D9. Yenku'u 48  
D12. R. Scottish M.  
D15. Rakuyō 44  
D18. Berlin

D3. MF  
D7. MF  
D10. Brit. Mus.  
D13. Mus. Köln  
D16. HM

3rd c. B.C.:

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D22. Yenku'u 66  
D24a.

D19a. Hunan 44  
D23. HM  
D26. Rakuyō 44

D21. Yenku'u 46  
D24. HM  
D27. Ontario

D28. Kanizen 22  
 D33. Berlin  
 D36.  
 D39. Berlin  
 D42. Yen'k'u 40  
 D45. Kanizen 15  
 D48. Kyoto Univ.  
 D52.

D29.  
 D34.  
 D37. MF  
 D40. MF  
 D43.  
 D46. HM  
 D50. Art Inst. Chicago  
 D53.

D30. HM  
 D35. Berlin  
 D38. HM  
 D41. MF  
 D44. Berlin  
 D47. MF  
 D51. Kanizen 21  
 D54. HM

### 3rd c. B.C.:

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 E13. Kanizen 28  
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 E18. HM  
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 E28. HM  
 E31. MF  
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 E40. MF  
 E43.

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 E39. HM  
 E42. Berlin  
 E45. Berlin

### 2nd c. B.C.:

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 F10. HM  
 F13. HM  
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 F19. HM  
 F24. Mus. Amsterdam  
 F27. Art Inst. Chicago  
 F30. Brit. Mus.  
 F33. M.F. Arts Boston  
 F37. HM  
 F41. Yen'k'u 55  
 F44. Yen'k'u 50  
 F47. Rakuyō 47

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 F8.  
 F11. Brit. Mus.  
 F14. Kanizen 25  
 F17. Freer Gall.  
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 F25. MF  
 F28. Berlin  
 F31. HM  
 F34. MF  
 F38. HM  
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 F48. HM

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 F23. HM  
 F26. MF  
 F29. MF  
 F32. Hallwyl  
 F35. HM  
 F40. Berlin  
 F43. HM  
 F46.

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G 4. Art Inst. Chicago	G 5.	G 7. Kanizen 7
G 8. MF	G 9. HM	G 10. HM
G 11. Kanizen 7	G 12. Seikwa 9	G 13. Kanizen 6
G 14. MF	G 15. MF	G 16. HM
G 18. MF	G 19. Berlin	

2nd c. B.C.:

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H 4. Berlin	H 6. MF	H 7.
H 8. MF	H 10. HM	H 11. HM
H 12. HM		

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J 1. M.F. Arts Boston	J 2. MF	J 3. HM
J 4. MF	J 5. HM	J 6. MF
J 7. MF	J 8. HM	J 9. HM
J 10. Berlin	J 11. MF	J 12. HM
J 13. HM	J 14.	J 16. MF
J 19. HM	J 20. MF	J 21.
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K 4.	K 5.	K 9.
K 10. HM	K 10a. MF	

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2nd c. B.C.:

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K 17. T'ulu 15	K 18. T'ulu 16	

Period 9-23 A.D.

L 1. HM	L 2. T'ulu 23	L 3. MF
L 4. MF		



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**E 6**

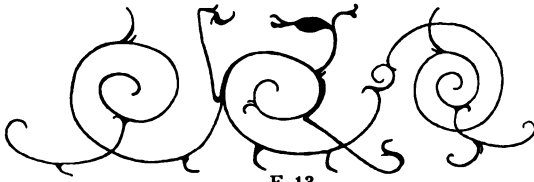
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**E 11**



**E 12**



**E 13**



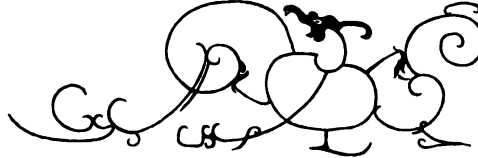
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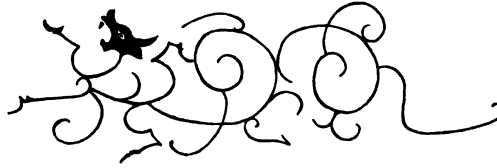
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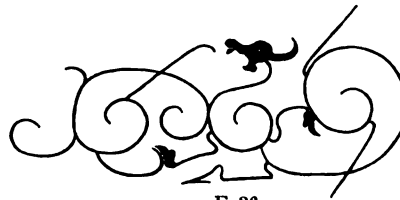
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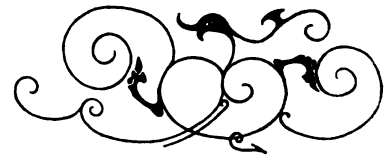
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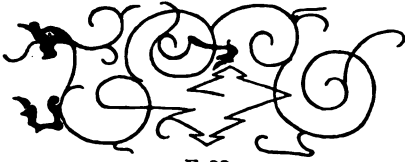


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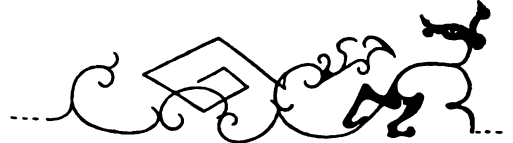
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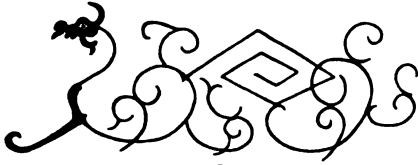
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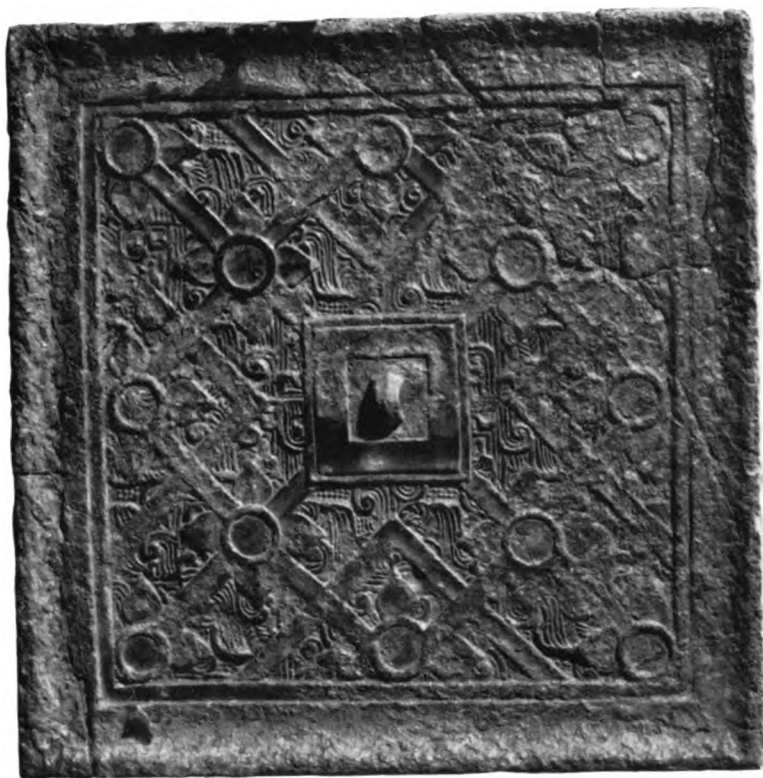
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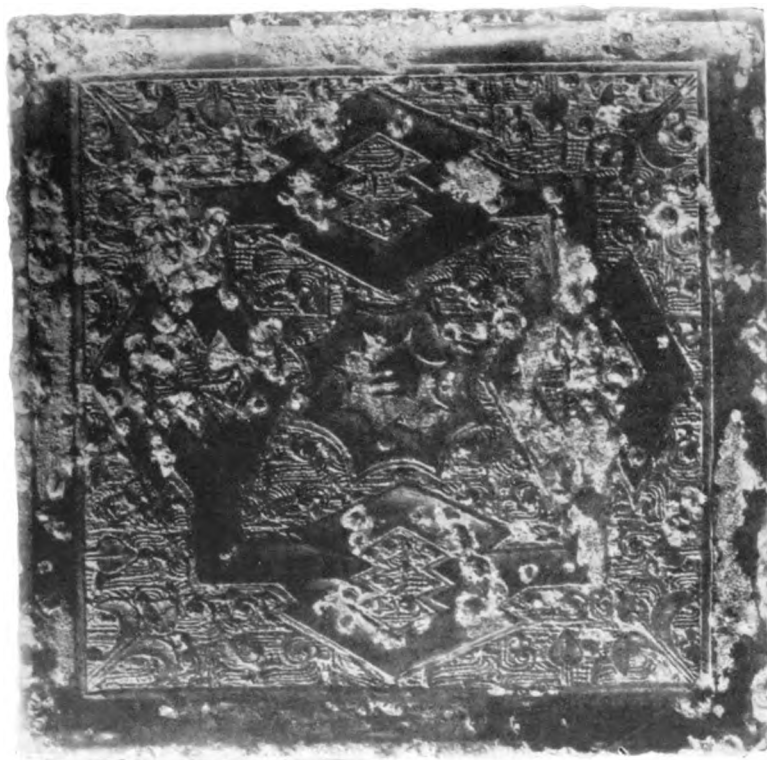
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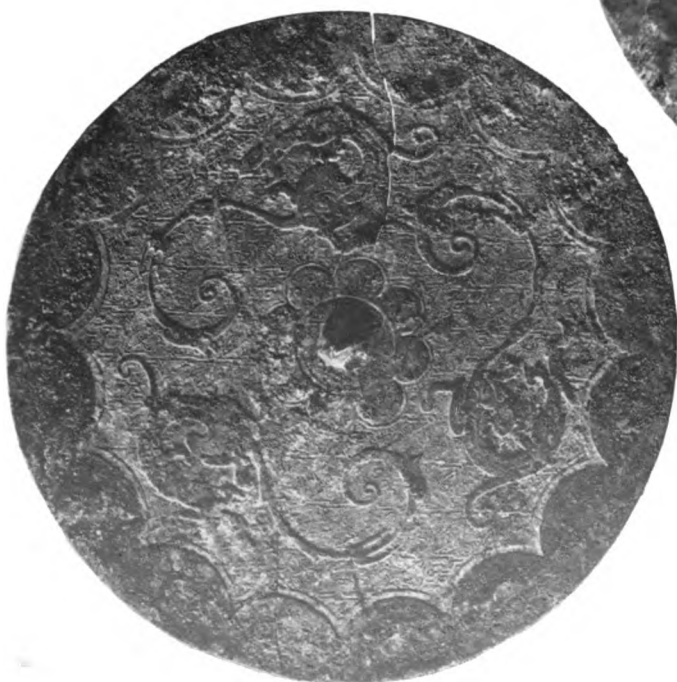




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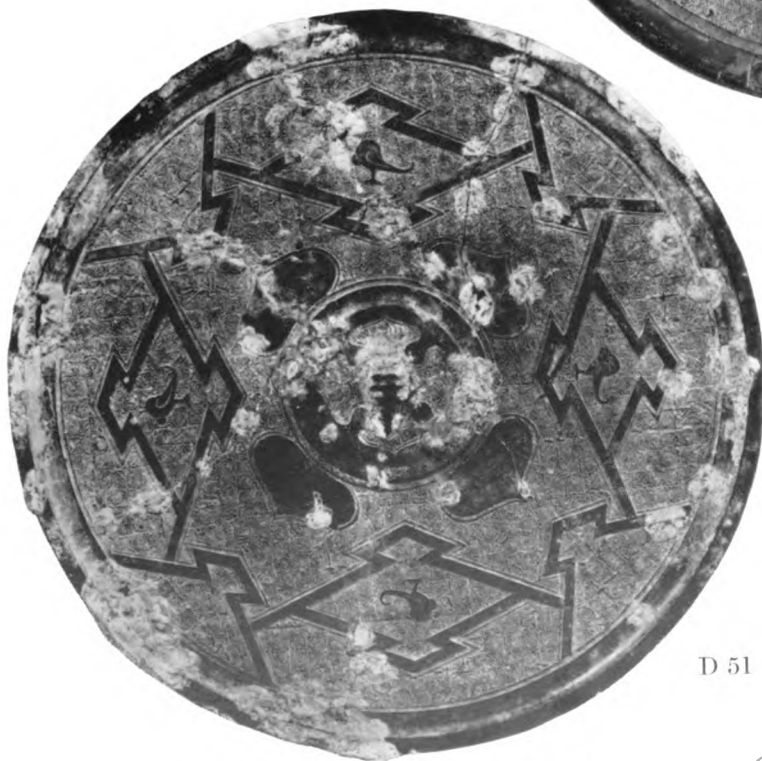




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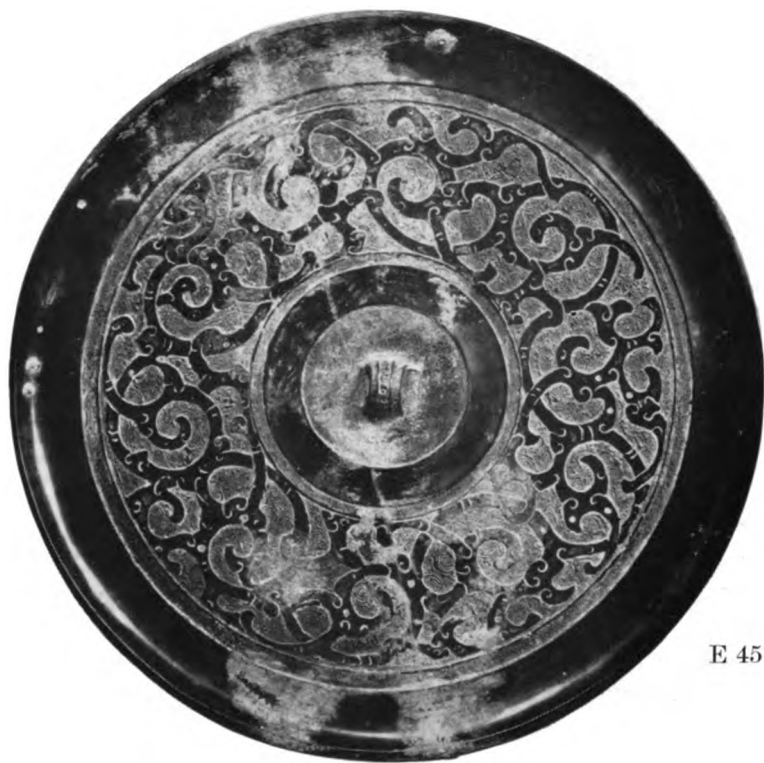
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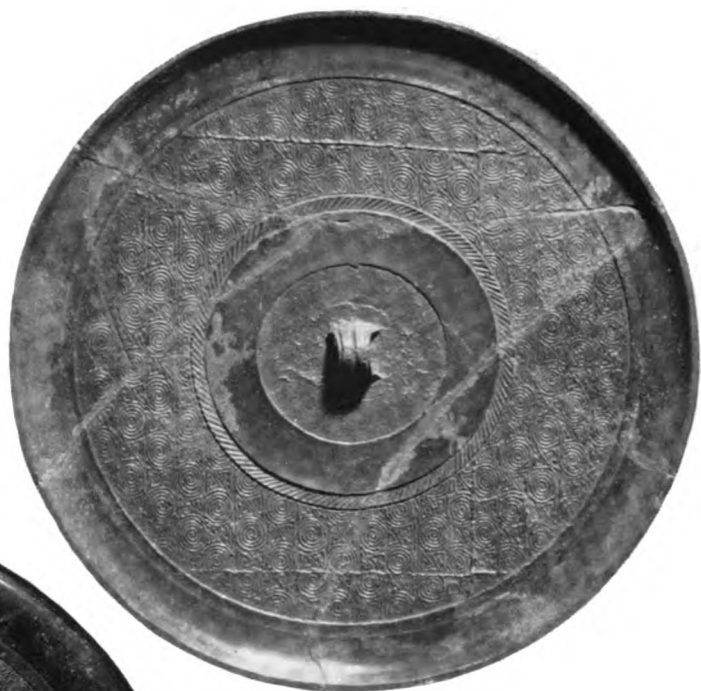


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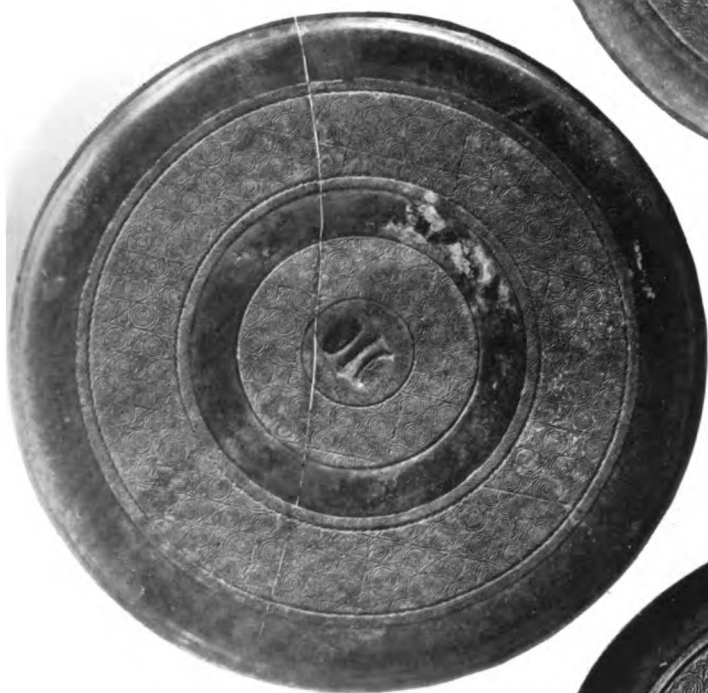


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G 18



G 19





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H 2



H 3



H 4



H 7



H 6



H 10



H 8



H 11



H 12



J 1



J 2



J 3



J 4



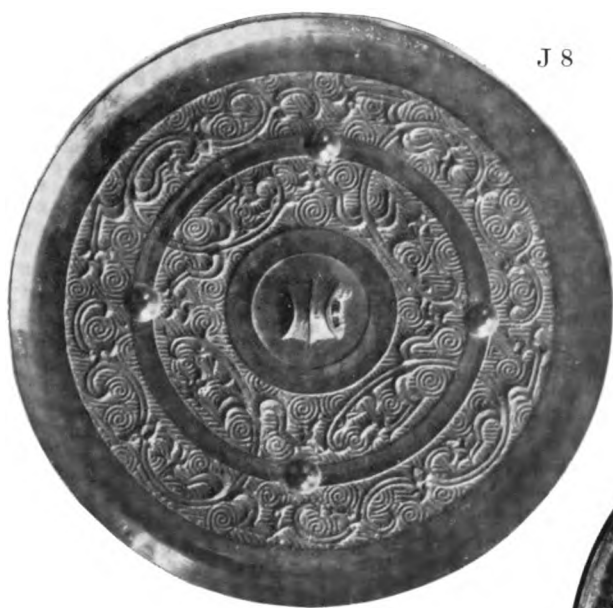
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J 7



J 8



J 9



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J 12



J 19



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J 20



J 21



J 22



J 23



J 24



J 25



K 1





K 2



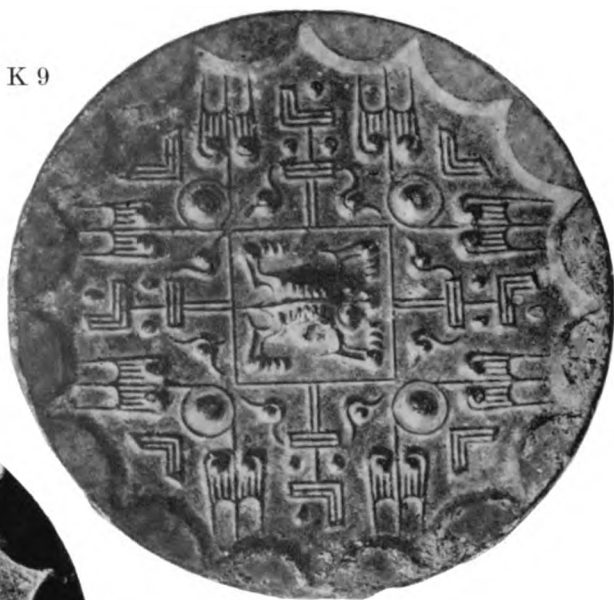
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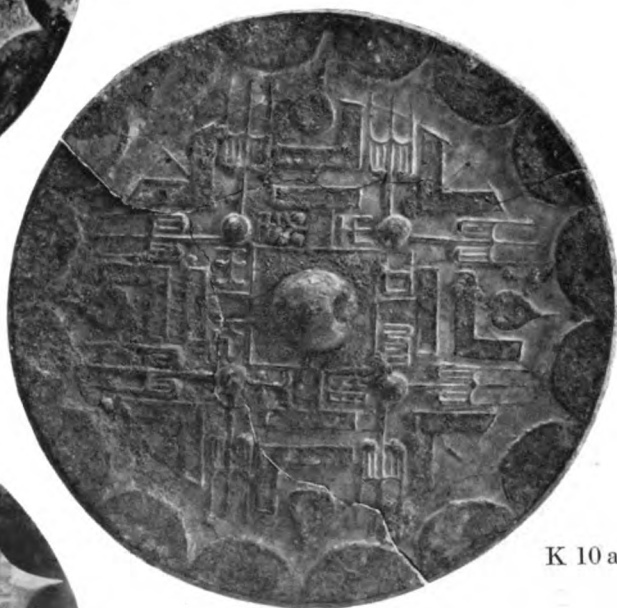
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K 5



K 10 a



K 10





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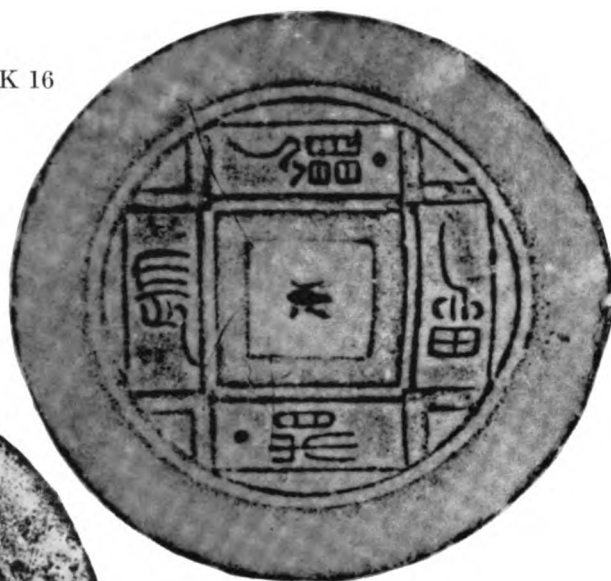


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K 14

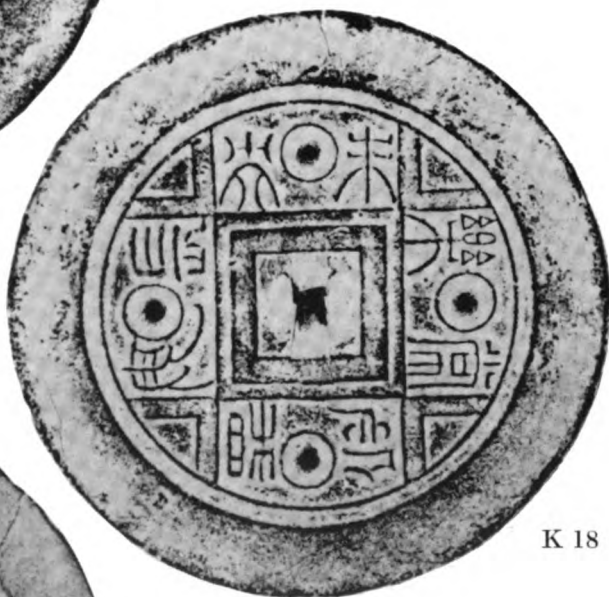
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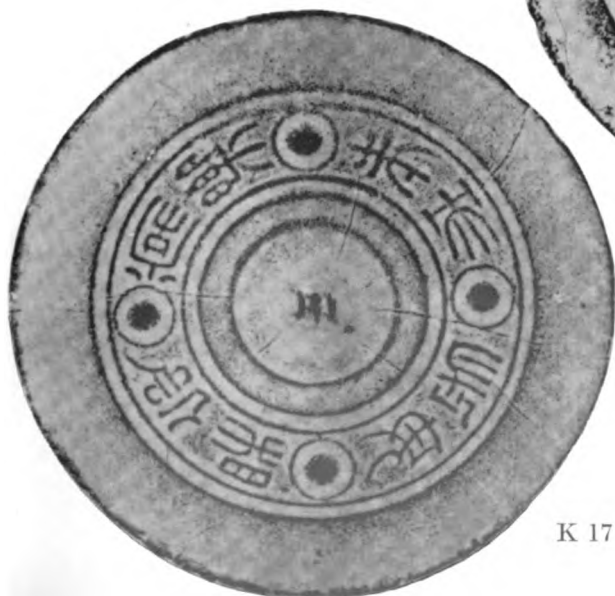
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L 2



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L 4







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